1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

B 433 241 For four centuries the agricultural development of Brazil has been characterized by a series of speculative phases, each focused on a single product, each centered upon a single region of Brazil. BB 249 175 The first commercial product was sugar, the first region was the Recôncavo of Bahia. The agricultural society founded on the shore of the Baía de Todos os Santos in the mid-sixteenth century has persisted with an almost unbroken BB 121 continuity for over four hundred years. It is with the geography of this agricultural society that the present study is concerned.

B BB 433 After sugar had ceased to bring a quick profit, the Brazilian center of effort shifted to other areas where economies of cotton, oranges, rice, cacao, and many lesser products opened the land and drew the ambitious and the desperate from the older settlements. Intermeshed with these phases of agricultural development were booms in the exploitative industries--in the mining of gold and diamonds and in the gathering of rubber. So characteristic have been these speculative convulsions, each followed by a shift to a new region, that they might almost seem to be the whole of Brazilian history and Brazilian reality--the nation might have been practicing a system of shifting cultivation on an immense scale with not only fields but whole regions abandoned as the yield declined. Yet this is not the case, for in each of these regions BB 178 249 161 men remain and crops persist. The Recôncavo, long past its triumph, has a present day population of one million people, many of whom are still cultivating the original speculative crop, sugar cane. B BB 241 178 The Recôncavo is not unique in this respect, for coastal Pernambuco, eastern

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B 241 114 The pattern of national agricultural characteristics is given explicit form by Spiegel in The Brazilian Economy.[2] He speaks of the exploitive character of the land rotation system, the dominance of the latifundio system of land holding, of private, corporate, and absentee ownership with extensive tenancy. Rents are relatively high, the status of agricultural labor low. Technology is backward, and the system of marketing is speculative. Most of these same characterizations appear in the appraisal of Brazilian agricultural development which Preston James has made in Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan.[3]

B 121 Brazil is a huge country, like India almost a sub-continent. The investigation of its agricultural economy on an intensive scale and in all its aspects is an overwhelming task. For the individual investigator working alone and with a limited time, it seems impossible. One approach is to study the economy in one of its variant regional expressions, a method which seems particularly appropriate on account of the pronounced regionalization of Brazilian agriculture. In particular, the investigation of a "passive" region in which the underlying national patterns are present in a relatively intensified and permanent form should give insight into the basal characteristics of Brazilian agricultural life. Such a region is the Recôncavo of Bahia.

BB 249 175 178 The special place of the Recôncavo in Brazilian agriculture is the result of two historical factors: (1) Many of the agricultural institutions and attributes which evolved in the Recôncavo and in the other sugar cane economies during the colonial period have spread to the rest of the nation, partly through migration and partly through cultural diffusion. BB 249 178 The characteristic figure of the sugar cane economy was the fazendéiro (the planter). "With the change in the structure of the fazenda [plantation] the fazendeiro was regenerated in a series of new types," Normano has said, and points to the fazendéiro background

249 178 of the Paulista,[4] the aggressive business man and agricultural capitalist of São Paulo state. (2) The departure of the more adventurous elements from the sugar economy and the transference of the center of economic development from the Recôncavo have allowed the region to maintain its traditional practices and values and to preserve the colonial background of Brazilian agriculture. Although no single area can typify the entire constellation of the Brazilian agricultural regions, the Recôncavo does seem to epitomize the characteristics which underlie their diversity. It is in a sense a microcosm in which many of the agricultural problems which beset Brazil are isolated in their acute phases.

241 171 The Recôncavo does not, of course, reflect every aspect of agricultural life which may be found in Brazil. Not all the various crops are cultivated in the Recôncavo, although most of the important Brazilian crops are grown to some extent. There is no mixed agriculture such as is found in Rio Grande do Sul, nor are there vast pastoral enterprises like those of Mato Grosso or the remote Northeastern interior. There are few peasant proprietors such as are found in São Paulo. Its pattern of regional organization is not a duplicate of that of any other Brazilian region. In all, however, most of the characteristics of Brazilian agriculture and especially the systems of cultivation and the pattern of agricultural institutions are present 241 121 in the Recôncavo microcosm. This region has several special advantages as the subject of a regional investigation of agricultural phenomena. It is small enough so that it can be studied thoroughly and in a limited period of time. It is large enough to have a diverse internal organization and conflicts of interest which can be analyzed. It is relatively detached so that the gross regional pattern is undisturbed by overlapping and is easy to observe.

134 Clay Soils of Cretaceous Origin. The Cretaceous soils occupy an extensive zone in the Recôncavo, chiefly on the northern perimeter of the Bay and in the adjacent coastal plain compartment. These soils are predominately colloids of clays derived from calcareous shales and sandstone through the decalcification and mixing of materials. The result of these processes has been an extremely adherent and coherent clay with good water holding capacity, moderate depth, and marked resistance to erosion. In dry seasons it develops deep cracks and is thus, to some extent, self-cultivating. This is a good soil for general agricultural purposes, but in the Recôncavo it is usually used for sugar cane.

The clay soils are by no means uniform, and the cultivators of the area distinguish by local names three types which correspond to different mixtures of sands and clays: massapê, salão, and arêia.

"Arêia" means sand, and the soils of this designation are the sandiest of the Cretaceous soils. As the term is commonly used in this area it seems not to refer to the relic deposits of Tertiary sands, in situ, but rather to soils derived from the mixing of these Tertiary sands with Cretaceous clays or to soils derived from the sandier Cretaceous materials. Whatever their origin, the arêia soils range in composition from sands to sandy loams and in color from grey to dun. [249] From the point of view of yield, the arêia soils are considered to be the least valuable by the sugar cane growers of this zone.[10] They are, however, the most easily worked soils of the Cretaceous series, especially when wet, and this is a significant virtue, because these soils are located in a zone of heavy precipitation.

The massapê is the soil par excellence in the tradition of the Recôncavo. Brazilian soil scientists classify this soil as an argila (clay). However, the following citation from an American geologist

132 agriculturalist responds to rainfall not as a statistical mean but as
132 rain falling from day to day and month to month. It is beyond the
128 scope of this study to analyze the day to day march of precipitation--indeed, the poor data available merit no more than a superficial analysis. By a study of deviations from the annual and seasonal averages, it is possible to draw general conclusions and to qualify the patterns on the climatic maps. The analysis below deals with the two meteorological stations of the Recôncavo with reasonably reliable data—Salvador and Cruz das Almas—and is for the years 1947 through 1952. This span includes both relatively wet and relatively dry years. The accompanying table (Table I) presents the complete summary of mean figures and deviations.

132 Though the movement of annual and seasonal totals for these two sections was similar, the deviations from the averages were significantly different, as the accompanying table (Table I) reveals. For the major wet season, Salvador had a mean deviation of 10 per cent, Cruz das Almas of 16 per cent. The greater mean deviation in the interior corresponds to the usual generalization of drier areas having a less reliable (more deviate) rainfall pattern. Thus the farmer of
[249] Cruz das Almas, cultivating tobacco and manioc with a minimum of
[244] seasonal rainfall, must cope with more serious deviations from the "expected" average than the sugar cane planter in his zone of relatively plentiful rainfall.

Of the 36 wet season months (March-August for 6 years), 14 months had less than 100 mm. at Cruz das Almas, and 100 mm. falling
[249] in "well-distributed" showers, is the minimum monthly growing season precipitation necessary for tobacco, the chief commercial crop.[25]

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132 [241] departure of the wet season is of great significance. On the accompanying maps the advance, retreat, and duration of the wet season has been plotted in terms of 100 mm. of monthly rainfall.[27]

The wet season, defined as 100 mm. of rainfall monthly, comes in from the sea and crosses the Bay in January-February and moves across the Recôncavo through March and April. In May the retreat begins, and by September the wet season is over.

By combining the isopleths indicating advance and retreat it is possible to derive a map showing the duration of the wet season. On this basis the northwestern sector of the Recôncavo has no wet season or has only one month--May. The southern Crystalline Uplands have a wet season of three, four, or five months--April-June, April-July, or March-July, the shorter season occurring in the most interior section. The Tabular Uplands have two, three, or four months--April-May, April-June or March-June--of wet season. Most of the coastal lowlands have a seven-month--February-August--wet season.

The wet season outlined on the accompanying maps is the statistical mean of the wet seasons of six years--1947 to 1952. The accompanying table (Table II) shows the advance and retreat of the individual wet seasons at Salvador and Cruz das Almas. These data suggest that the advance and retreat of the wet season is highly irregular in the area around the Bay.[28] In the interior, if Cruz das Almas is representative, the advance and retreat of the wet season is more regular. However, in every year from 1947 to 1952 there was a dry month--with less than 100 mm. of rainfall--in the midst of the wet season of the interior.

[249] September Precipitation. September precipitation is a critical factor in the harvesting and processing of the two chief commercial

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 50]

TABLE II

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ADVANCE, DURATION, AND RETREAT OF THE WET SEASON 100 mm. MONTHLY TOTAL FOR SALVADOR AND CRUZ DAS ALMAS

	Salvador				Cruz das Almas			
Year	Month of Advance	Month with less than 100 mm.	Month of Retreat	Total	Month of Advance	Month with less than 100 mm.	Month of Retreat	Total
1947	March		July	5		June	July	
1948	March		Nov.	9	April	May	Aug.	4
1949	April		Nov.	8	April	May	July	3
1950	Feb.		July	6	April	June	July	3
1951	March		July	5	April	May	June	3
1952	March		Aug.	6	March	April	Aug.	4
Mean	March			6-1/2	April	June	July	4

Note: There are certain discrepancies between these figures and those on the map. This results from the necessity of using mean monthly data on the latter.

TABLE III

SEPTEMBER PRECIPITATION—SALVADOR AND CRUZ DAS ALMAS

	September Precipitation in mm.	
Year	Salvador	Cruz das Almas
1947	37.7	44.2
1948	106.6	41.7
1949	168.1	60.2
1950	32.3	25.5
1951	76.9	62.7
1952	21.5	7.0

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249 products of the Recôncavo—tobacco and sugar cane. In the tobacco zone there must be enough rainfall so that the shoots will continue to develop but not enough to cause the already-harvested leaves to mold. In the sugar cane zone the moisture-retentive soil will nourish the cane through a relatively dry month. However, too much September precipitation

132 [249] will turn the cane fields into quagmires from which it is impossible to move the laden ox-carts.[29]

The table above (Table III) indicates that the September rainfall is highly variable both on the coast and in the interior, although Crus das Almas has a slightly more consistent pattern for this month. The variability of September precipitation, as will be seen, raises serious agricultural problems in the Recôncavo. However, the greater [249] variability of the coastal zone is in some ways a less serious problem than the lesser variability of the interior, for cane harvests can be temporarily postponed, but the cutting and drying of tobacco has an extremely critical time factor.[30]

Climate - Summary. The climate of the Recôncavo is dichotomous. The temperature of the region is fairly constant from day to day and from season to season. In contrast, precipitation is unevenly distributed--in area and in season--and is relatively unreliable. The cultivator of the Recôncavo may take the temperature for granted, but rainfall is an almost incessant concern.

Along the margins of the ocean and the Bay the climate is humid and the precipitation relatively reliable--it is a rare season when the [249] [257] crops of this zone suffer from drought. Because of the heavy investment in industrial equipment and labor, a long delay in harvest is costly to the sugar industry.

In general the uplands have marginal precipitation. Beyond the [241] Recôncavo, in the sertão (backland) crop cultivation is scattered and precarious, chiefly on account of the low and uncertain rainfall. Although the uplands of the Recôncavo have more total precipitation than [241] the sertão, they share in the pattern of uncertain rains. Several areas in these uplands are intensively cultivated, and the recurring severe

127 Hidrologia, 1948). (2) Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Meteorologia,
132 Normais Climatológicas (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço de Meteorologia, 1941).
(3) Data made available by the meteorological section of the Instituto
Agronômico Léste at Cruz das Almas,

132 The risks involved in using these data are considerable. Of the
127 20 meteorological stations in eastern and central Bahia, only 2 or
perhaps 3 are reliable. For the others, gross errors and even deliberate
114 falsification are notorious. Probably the data for Salvador is reasonably
dependable, and during the field investigation for this study, there was
opportunity to observe the conscientious attention to detail at Cruz das
Almas.

The sheer lack of meteorological stations makes it necessary to infer most of the climatic pattern of the Recôncavo. It is fortunate that the two dependable stations occupy relatively representative sites in terms of the terrain and the land-sea relationship. Nevertheless, even the highly generalized climatic analysis of this section is offered with considerable hesitation. It is included in the study primarily as a base for agricultural research and, it is hoped, as a stimulant to a more adequate analysis of weather and climate for the Recôncavo.

000 [22] The municípios of Santo Estêvão, Feira de Santana, and Irará.

[137] [23] Often the slopes are more heavily forested than the surrounding tablelands, but it is not absolutely certain that this difference is unrelated to land use--the slopes are usually too steep for cultivation. In a number of municípios immediately to the east of this dry belt perennial or seasonal ponds were observed at the eastern or southern base of a number of monadnocks. Presumably these ponds are related to heavier precipitation on the slopes above.

[24] The mean annual precipitation of São Bento das Lajes (in the município of São Francisco) is 1947 mm. At São Gonçalo the mean annual precipitation is 1005 mm.

[25] According the advice of agronomists in the area. This approximation is based upon the general experience of the cultivators and not upon controlled experiments which could take into account varying temperatures, humidity, and soil moisture conditions.

[26] The mean of the deviations at Cruz das Almas was 33 per cent.

[249] [27] Except that 100 mm. is considered to be the minimum for tobacco cultivation, this exact figure has no particular significance. It is used here merely as a device to record the movement and duration of the season.

[249] [28] This seems to reflect accurately the climatic situation in the Coastal Plain, where sugar cane is grown, for the cane planters frequently complain of the irregularity of the end of the wet season.

[29] It is not possible to assign strict values for "too much" and "too little" precipitation in these agricultural zones of the Recôncavo. In the tobacco zone there is likely to be difficulty if the precipitation for September--or the following months--the cutting period, falls below

433 241 Recôncavo remains today a backward and traditional agricultural
178 society.

However, not all elements in Recôncavo life are static. In
the field one was incessantly conscious both of the gradual course of
change in this region and of the latent instability of its economic
organization. Particularly in the last 75 years the agricultural
economy of the Recôncavo has begun to shift--it is apparently in the
throes of a drastic economic reorganization. It remains to be seen
whether the traditional values will survive this economic revolution.
[128] The brief historical discussion to follow is not intended as a
substitute for a full-scale historical reconstruction. Its purpose
is to indicate the major patterns in the evolution of the Recôncavo.

175 The Evolution of Colonial Agricultural Institutions. By the
end of the initial half century of settlement (1600) those ethnic
groups, crops, animals, and agricultural institutions which were to
[567] become characteristic of the Recôncavo were already in evidence. Negro
[249] slaves were brought in on the heels of the first Portuguese settlers,[3]
[231] and sugar cane and cattle were also introduced at this time.[4] Tobacco
[244] and manioc, produced by the Indians indigenous to the northeast of
[249] [177] Brazil, were rapidly integrated into the colonial agriculture of the
[249] Recôncavo.[5] The combined sugar mill and plantation (engenho), which
[471] was the basic economic institution of the Recôncavo until the end of
the nineteenth century, already existed in rudimentary form before
1600.[6]

175 From the beginning the new colony in the Recôncavo had three
249 [244] important crops--sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc. It was the cultiva-
tion of sugar which the Portuguese crown and the initial settlers had

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175 in mind when they founded the colony of Bahia.
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> Already enough was known of Brazil to hope that sugar cane would do well in it. The hot and humid climate of its coast would be highly favorable, and as for hands for work, they counted mainly on the indigenous people who, as we have seen, were relatively numerous and peaceful on the coast. These perspectives were completely confirmed; the one factor of which they were ignorant before the attempt--the quality of the soil--revealed itself as supremely propitious, at some points at least, on the extensive coast. This was particularly the case in the extreme northeast, on the coastal plain occupied by the state of Pernambuco and on the contours of the Baía de Todos os Santos (the Recôncavo *Baiano*, as it would be called). These were not the only ones: in a general way all the Brazilian coast paid homage to sugar cane.
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> It was on this base that the effective occupation and colonization of Brazil was initiated.[7]

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By the end of the sixteenth century sugar cane cultivation had spread
at least as far as its present western and southern limits in the
Recôncavo, on the Paraguaçu and Jaguaripe rivers. Forty *engenhos* were
engaged in the production of sugar.[8] The *engenhos* were the nuclei of
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175 the economic organization of the colony. The cultivation of sugar cane
249 and the milling of sugar demanded a labor force too large to be re-
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567 cruited from among the indigenous Indians.[9] This labor force was
supplied from the slave pens of Africa--chiefly on the Guinea Coast
BB and in Angola. The city of Salvador, which had the advantage of a
[504] commodious port and a central location among the slave markets of
Brazil, was the chief point of debarkation for these Africans.[10]
Estimates of the number of slaves imported and the number who remained
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175 in Bahia vary over a wide range. In 1583, when the population of
161 Brazil was estimated at 57,000 people, 25,000 were listed as whites,
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18,000 as civilized Indians, and 14,000 as Negro slaves. The Negroes
BB were concentrated mainly in Bahia and Pernambuco.[11] It seems likely
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563 that in Bahia the number of Negroes was at least equal to the number
[174] of whites. These two racial groups and their mixed-blood derivatives

162 compose most of the population of the Recôncavo today. In 1940 the
563 population of the Centro-Litoral of Bahia--the census area most closely
corresponding to the Recôncavo--had the following composition: white,
22 per cent; black, 29 per cent; and others, predominately mulatto,
49 per cent.[12]

175 The purchase of large quantities of slaves required the produc-
439 tion of a commodity which could be used as exchange in Africa. The
567
436 indigenous tobacco proved eminently suitable for this purpose. Although
276 rum apparently was used also in this trade, tobacco became the essential
[273] source of exchange for the slave traffic.[13] Bahia was the main area of
[249] tobacco production, and probably most of this production was localized
in the Recôncavo.[14]

175 The initial period of settlement saw also the incorporation of
244 manioc[15] into the agricultural economy as a staple. Like tobacco, it
433 was an indigenous crop. Thus one indigenous crop was adopted to
[567] purchase slaves in Africa and another to feed them in Brazil. By
1587 manioc apparently was being cultivated on a moderate scale in
Bahia.[16] A recurring theme in the history of the Recôncavo is the
shortage of this essential foodstuff.

241 In addition to the principal crops--sugar, tobacco, and
262 manioc--a number of lesser agricultural products were important in the
175 early history of the Recôncavo. Corn, beans, and bananas were grown
433 on a small scale and used to supplement the manioc diet. Other diversi-
231 fications of the diet were provided by meat and fish. Cattle were
maintained to draw the ox carts and to power many of the cane mills.
For lighter tasks asses and mules were used.

178 Out of this complex of Portuguese settlers and Negro slaves, of
249 old world and new world crops, there developed certain characteristic
433 agricultural enterprises. The engenho--old world in the origin of its

178 249 433 crop, technology, and market--was the most important of these enterprises. The sugar industry flourished in its new world setting and developed from the beginning an institutional character different from that of the old world, particularly in terms of land holding, labor, and the organization of production.

> 175 423 249 471 The regime of possession of the land was that of completely alodial properties. Among the powers of the donatários of the capitania was, as we have seen, that of disposing of the land, which they distributed among the colonists. The grants were as a rule very large, the lots measuring many leagues. This is understandable: the lands were abundant, and the ambitions of these pioneers, recruited at such a cost, were evidently not contented with small properties; it was not the position of modest peasants to which they aspired in the new world but as great senhores [gentlemen] and latifundiários [landowners]. In addition to this and more important, there was a material factor which determined the type of property established. The culture of cane is practical, economically, only on a large scale. Merely conveniently to clear and prepare the lands (a costly task in this tropical and virgin setting so hostile to man) made necessary the united energy of many workers: it was not an enterprise for small and isolated proprietors. This done, the planting, the harvesting, and the transportation of the cane to the engenhos where it was made into sugar was only profitable when done in large volume. In these conditions the small producer could not exist.
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> It was above all these circumstances which determined the type of agricultural enterprise adopted in Brazil: the large property.[17]

175 241 471 433 The latifundia established by these colonists ideally were self-sustaining units producing food and sometimes clothing for the entire engenho community--free and slave. In fact, however, they often seem to have neglected food production for the cultivation of the universal commercial product--sugar cane. From the beginning of colonization a succession of regulations and decrees were issued to compel the cultivation of manioc. Recurrent food shortages suggest that these measures were not effective in the face of the "monocultural 000 mentality" of the senhores de engenho (sugar plantation owners). In

241 433 178 In contemporary Bahia chronic shortages of staple foods, particularly manioc, are characteristic of the zones of commercial agriculture.

175 249 The equipment and technology of the engenhos was primitive. The cane was transported on the backs of mules or on ox carts to the [492] mill where it was crushed in a crude press sometimes turned by water power but usually by animal- or even man-power. The cane juice was evaporated in large iron caldrons which were heated by fire made from wood. This type of processing was in general use in the Recôncavo for several centuries and still persists in some areas of the extra-Recôncavo [464] [567] backlands. The engenhos were operated almost exclusively with slave labor. Most of the slaves of Bahia are thought to have come from the [177] Guinea Coast of Africa. These "Mina" Negroes[18] had a relatively sophisticated cultural inheritance from Africa and undoubtedly made substantial contributions to the cultural development of Bahia.[19]

175 249 464 567 The Negroes were introduced when Indian slaves failed to provide the necessary labor supply, but they were rarely available in sufficient numbers and at a low enough cost to prevent chronic labor shortages. Falta de braços (literally, lack of arms) has been a perennial concern in the Recôncavo no less than elsewhere in Brazil. [162] The importation of hundreds of thousands of Negroes into Brazil--of which certainly a considerable number were settled in the Recôncavo--did not solve the problem.[20] In the early period most engenhos had from about 80 to 100 slaves, but by the eighteenth century some had as many as 1,000.[21]

175 563 567 From the beginning of settlement there was extensive miscegenation. The Portuguese settlers were predominately male, and they bred on a large scale with both Indian and Negro slave women. Some of the mestizo and mulatto children—chiefly the latter in the Recôncavo—retained the slave status of their mothers. Others were freed and sometimes occupied favored positions in their fathers' households.

175 231 After they had recuperated from the long drives, the cattle were used for both labor and food.

175 433 439 171 The colonial economy developed in the Recôncavo--in common with Pernambuco, Campinas (Rio de Janeiro), and lesser centers like Sergipe and Alagoas--was distinct from the economy of the south of Brazil. São Paulo, for example, was self-sufficient, buying little from abroad and having little to sell. Bahia and Pernambuco were almost completely dependent upon exchange with European markets, with Portugal acting as the middleman.

175 249 439 *Economic Development from 1600 to 1850.* By the middle of the seventeenth century most of the institutions discussed above existed in at least rudimentary form. They were nurtured by an expanding Brazilian commercial economy which enjoyed, for the moment, a virtual monopoly in sugar. Bahia was the leading province in Brazil in the export of both sugar and tobacco.[23] The production of these crops was centered almost entirely in the Recôncavo area of the state. The [567] tobacco was sent at first to Africa, in exchange for increasingly large numbers of slaves for the ever-greedy sugar industry. Slowly, however, a secondary market for Bahia tobacco developed in Europe. With few exceptions the sugar was marketed in Europe and at a high price. The *engenhos* of Bahia were the largest in Brazil, though still very small by modern standards.[24]

175 648 The development of the colony did not proceed smoothly. In the mid-seventeenth century Bahia was occupied for a brief period by the Dutch, but the development of the colony faltered only momentarily. On the other hand, the Dutch occupied Pernambuco and the north coast for a longer period. The subsequent transference of Dutch efforts to the West Indies was to have a profound effect upon the future of

175 648 the Recôncavo, for they took with them a newly acquired knowledge of sugar cane cultivation.

175 167 567 The eighteenth century opened with a series of disasters for the region. When word of gold discoveries in Minas Gerais (1704) reached Bahia, an exodus began.[25] Slaves were sold at exorbitant prices, and often masters and slaves together went off to the mines. The colonial authorities took drastic steps to halt the flight, but
[1731] to no avail. The first quarter of the century ended with floods in the Recôncavo and the discovery of diamonds in the interior. There was a second exodus.[26]

175 171 249 In the meantime there were momentous developments in the West Indies. Sugar cane cultivation spread rapidly in the Antilles as the Netherlands and other northwestern European states which had been lucrative markets for Brazilian sugar began their own production in their respective West Indian colonies. In addition to the protected markets which the mother countries afforded, these new centers enjoyed sound economic and geographical advantages. As newcomers to the field of sugar production, the Antilles were free of both the antiquated equipment and the backward techniques which burdened Brazil, and they were closer to the major European markets.[27]

175 178 185 249 The Recôncavo was unable to counter these West Indian developments. In a century and a half of commercial development there had been few improvements in agricultural or industrial methods. There was no conservation of the soil. Only one variety of cane was known, and there was no attempt to develop improved strains. The mills continued to burn expensive wood rather than to use bagasse. Antique, low-yielding crushing mills continued to be used for extraction.[28]

175 249 178 439 At the end of the eighteenth century, however, developments abroad restored to the Recôncavo and to Brazil many of the advantages which it had formerly held in the international market. This

175 178 249 439 inaugurated a brief "golden age" in the evolution of the Recôncavo. The mythology which this age engendered is an integral part of the social and economic patterns in the present day Recôncavo. The collapse of the sugar economy in the West Indies, particularly in Santo Domingo in 1792, and the expanding urban markets in Europe had given, for a moment, a great opportunity to the sugar industry of Northeast Brazil. Moreover, an important supplementary market had developed in the mining areas of Minas Gerais. In the subsequent economic expansion to supply these markets, the Recôncavo became an even more important center of sugar production in Brazil.

175 249 565 567 471 The landed proprietors of the Recôncavo apparently took this resurgence as a vindication of their economic system.

> They squandered money like the fidalgos [landed, slave-holding aristocrats] that they were. They installed sumptuous dwellings and lived the life of a nobility. Each sugar factory was a community where hundreds of slaves were dedicated to extraction of wealth from the soil. Each of these communities achieved a merited importance. A little Agricultural World gyrated around the Big House, and the Chapel, with its Holy Administrator, [was] dedicated to the dissemination of Catholicism in the community. In time many of these "Engenhos" developed into villas, and were succeeded by the cities of today.
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> Each of these "Engenhos," as these agricultural communities were called, produced everything that they consumed except luxury, and this was imported from Portugal in exchange for sugar, high-grade tobacco, cotton, and rare cabinet woods. The "Senhor" of the
> [466] Engenho was a veritable Feudal Baron, with the power of life and death over his black and mestizo slaves. He exercised the right of torture and flogging in propor-
> 175 249 471 565 [668] tion to the offenses committed. These sugar Engenhos, because of their collective and independent existence, produced a pride of origin, an attachment to the soil, that flowered into a hatred of the monarchial exploiters and became the dominating factor in the movement for independence.
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> The fidalgos were essentially a product of the land, and spent the major part of their luxurious existence on their estates, attended by innumerable slaves. Their homes were built upon a vast scale and equipped with every luxury known to so simple a people. They also

> 175 249 565 [471] maintained splendid establishments, called Solars, in the Capital, to which they repaired in the winter season, June, July and August, for social diversion.[29]

[178] The above citation is characteristic of the present-day views of many upper-class Baianos who identify themselves with this opulent era of the Recôncavo social evolution. The mythology engendered by the colonial sugar industry is outliving the engenho system. The wealth, pride, and ostentation of these fidalgos is undeniable. Within the limits of the provincial social environment, upper-class life was luxurious indeed. Compared with the upper-class society of the period in Europe or in the American South, however, social opportunities in the Recôncavo must have been rather limited. The casas
[342] grandes--if the surviving specimens can be taken as typical--generally
[489] were rather modest plantation houses. Transportation was difficult: few engenhos had carriage roads, and travel was by horseback or
[571] palanquin. Social intercourse often was restricted to an ingrown
[484] local circle. Apparently many of the social needs of the upper class could not be met within the rural Recôncavo so that trips were made frequently to Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and sometimes Paris.[30]

Little has been recorded of the way of life of the slaves and
175 249 poor freemen in the Recôncavo. It is significant that both apologists
567 and critics of slavery usually have agreed that the masters were relatively clement in the treatment of their slave laborers. These slaves were very valuable possessions, particularly after the British began to suppress the slave trade. Because absentee ownership and delegation of administration to people outside the family was not usual, the masters and slaves were perforce in daily contact. Out of these daily contacts between landholder and laborer, a relatively personal relationship was developed. Within the household, relation-
[563] ships were even more familiar. In addition, some of the slaves were

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567 the offspring of master and slave and sometimes were considered as
[563] members of the household.

A set of feudalistic inter-relations developed in the society, loosely defining the responsibilities and privileges of master and slave. Ideally the slave had the privilege, almost the right, to appeal to the master in person for assistance and advice. Manumission and the granting of the right to purchase freedom were common. At the
[466] same time, the economic system was based upon involuntary labor. The slave was exploited, and the fruit of his toil went to maintain the luxurious existence of the small upper class.

175 The small freemen occupied a very inferior social and economic
565 position in this society. In the cities they became tradesmen or
[463]
[554] craftsmen, occupations without status. In the country some were petty dependents of the engenho, others established themselves as small cultivators. Since the sugar cane plantations dominated the central Recôncavo, it seems reasonable to assume that the small holders were segregated mainly in the outer zone.

175 In 1819--during the florescence of the Recôncavo--the population
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162 of the comarca (district) of Bahia was 362,503. Most of this population was centered in the Recôncavo--200,000 in the lowlands north of the Bay--the sugar cane area--and 77,503 in the western uplands around Cachoeira--the tobacco area.[31] At this time the total population of Bahia was estimated at 592,908 and that of Brazil as between
175 4,000,000 to 4,500,000.[32] Salvador, with a population somewhere
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162 between 100,000 and 130,000, was the largest city in Brazil and remained so until 1830.[33] The class and ethnic composition of the
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563 population of this period is not clearly indicated. By some estimates,
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567 over half of the population of Bahia was slave and over three-fifths

175 563 565 567 was Negro. Other estimates state that less than one-third of the people were slaves.[34]

175 249 471 454 Table IV, below, illustrates the economic organization of the sugar industry in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

TABLE IV

TOTAL CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN SUGAR *ENGENHOS* OF BAHIA IN 1833

	In U. S. Dollars*		
	Per Unit		Total Investment
603 mills	$2,500		$1,507,500
48,240 slaves	150		7,236,000
60,300 oxen	20		904,500
23,100 horses	20		464,500
78,800 ha. of agric. land	46	(approx)	3,618,000
38,528 ha. of forest	23	(approx)	884,000
47 steam engines	3,000		141,000
62 water canals	3,000		186,000
Improvements of each mill	2,000		1,206,000
Total in Bahia			$16,147,500

*Conversion at $500 per thousand of *reis*, after Calogeras, p. 47 in footnote.

Source: Amaral, II, 84 after the Marquez de Abrantes.

The usefulness of the above data is limited by the ambiguity of several of its categories. "Agricultural land" could be either land cultivated or cultivable. The most serious problem of interpretation is the meaning of "improvements," since the value of these improvements is relatively high. It is reasonably certain, from the nature of the *engenho*, that these improvements are not technological advances but only those simple measures necessary to maintain the traditional structure--warehouses, corrals, slave quarters, etc. If the value of the house of the *senhor de engenho* is included in this figure, this would help to account for the relatively high figure for improvements.

Nevertheless, the data do represent certain significant elements of the mid-nineteenth century sugar cane system of the Recôncavo. Almost

175 45 per cent of the total investment was in slaves--labor costs, always
249 471 high, had been driven up by the suppression of the slave trade. The
454 relatively small proportion of steam mills is at once a reflection of the continuing primitive technology and a sign of the improvements which were to come later in the century. The value of production for
[433] this year was $1,213,000--a return of 6.6 per cent on the capital investment.35

175 While the attention of the Baiano was focused on the sugar
249 industry during this golden age, tobacco unobtrusively was becoming
178 439 a primary commercial product. The suppression of the slave trade deprived tobacco of its African market, but at the same time the European market was expanding. The spread of cigar smoking in Europe created an increasing demand for Bahian leaf. Ultimately the European demand for quality leaf and the development of a Brazilian market for the poorer grades were to carry tobacco to the leading position among Bahia's commercial products.

175 To a very large degree, the mold of the colonial Recôncavo was
433 249 fixed in the sixteenth century. Its socio-economic system was nurtured by the prosperous semi-monopoly of sugar production. While the south
[565] of Brazil was a raw frontier zone of migratory agricultural adventurers, the Paulistas (natives of São Paulo) of early colonial times,36 a stable and wealthy aristocratic society was developing in the Recôncavo. In
[477] the early eighteenth century, when West Indies competition undermined the sugar monopoly, the Recôncavo might have responded creatively to the challenge, but failed to do so. The simultaneous mineral boom in Minas Gerais drained away the more experimental elements and left behind those who were less adventurous. Yet before the denial of markets had disrupted entirely the old economic and cultural pattern, the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century resurgence reaffirmed

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175 249 the traditional values. As has been seen, the re-opening of the markets
433 at first particularly benefited the Recôncavo.

NB The developments in the Recôncavo were shared only partially by
175 the other areas of the Brazilian Northeast. The colonial economy of
433 Pernambuco, the second major center in the Northeast, was not nurtured
NB EB by a prosperity equal to that of Bahia. The booms in the mineral areas,
[316] which had a disruptive effect on the Recôncavo, apparently were less
strongly felt in more-distant Pernambuco. In the south of Brazil,
EB 175 neither Rio de Janeiro nor São Paulo shared in Bahia's colonial
433 316 opulence until the nineteenth century. Moreover, the mining develop-
241 ments, which were a disturbing influence on Recôncavo society, had
a stimulating effect on agriculture and trade in the South, especially
in São Paulo. Although Minas Gerais attracted some settlers from the
South, in the main the mineral development acted as a stimulant to
agriculture. Thus the forces of colonial evolution in the Recôncavo
were distinctive variants of those characteristic of the whole of
Brasil.

BB The Last Hundred Years--1850 to the Present. The series of
175 external forces which contributed to the revival of the Recôncavo in
the early nineteenth century were destined to sweep it from the main
current of Brazilian development. The pressure of these outside
events were apparent in the Recôncavo as early as 1825, but it was
in the last half of the century that the region was relegated to the
subordinate position which it occupies today.

B There is a historical connection between the events which first
BB bestowed and later took away Recôncavo prosperity. The collapse in
175 567 the West Indies sugar industry re-opened markets to Brazil, but it
648 [439] also ended England's economic interests in slavery. With no vested

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BB interest to deter her, Great Britain became in the nineteenth century
175 the great anti-slavery force of the world. The British government
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648 began to press Brazil for a treaty to halt the slave trade. In 1826 a treaty was signed in which Brazil agreed to end the slave trade within four years. However, Brazil had just achieved its independence (1824), and the new national government was too weak to enforce the provisions of the treaty. After 25 years of bitter diplomatic exchanges with Great Britain, the Brazilian government succeeded in fulfilling its treaty obligations, and after 1852 almost no slaves were landed in Brazil.

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175 The end of the slave trade foreshadowed the end of slave labor in Brazil. The Northeast fought to preserve the system, but it was
567 doomed not only as a result of extra-Brazilian pressures but also be-
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178 cause of internal economic development. Just as in the eighteenth century the political capital had shifted from the North (Salvador) to the Central-South (Rio de Janeiro), so in the nineteenth century the economic center of gravity moved to São Paulo and adjacent Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais.[37] At first the developments in São Paulo imitated those of the Northeast, and a sugar industry employing traditional techniques was established. Almost immediately, however, the Central-South began to demonstrate an initiative unknown in the old sugar regions.

BB
EB At the beginning of the nineteenth century Bahia was exporting
NB 12,000 tons of sugar, Pernambuco 8,400 tons, Rio de Janeiro 5,400 tons,
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439 and São Paulo 600 tons.[38] By mid-century Rio de Janeiro--chiefly
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249 Campos, near the mouth of the Rio Paraíba--was producing more sugar than any other province. In 1875, Rio de Janeiro was still the largest producer, with São Paulo second, Pernambuco third, and Bahia
000 fourth. By the end of the century, São Paulo was the largest sugar

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By the end of the century, São Paulo was the largest sugar producer, chiefly supplying its own internal market, but also exporting in small quantity. The Recôncavo struggled to maintain even a poor fourth position.[39]

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The growth of the sugar industry in the South was not an isolated development but was one part of a general agricultural and economic expansion. The south of Brazil, which had gained new political power as a result of its expansion, began to press for abolition of slaves. Slave labor had not played a significant role in the south after 1850.

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In 1871 a law was passed providing for the gradual emancipation of slaves and the compensation of slave holders. The Northeast resisted bitterly but in vain. A new law passed in 1888 gave complete and immediate freedom to the slaves; and this law did not provide for compensation of the slave owners.

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The end of slavery threatened the Recôncavo in two ways. The suppression of the slave traffic destroyed the African trade in tobacco. The loss was soon more than compensated by the rapid expansion of the market for Bahian tobacco in Europe. By the 1870's tobacco surpassed sugar and became the chief export of Bahia. The effect of the emancipation on the sugar industry was much more far-reaching. The freeing of the slaves destroyed the labor base of sugar cultivation and processing. The gradual character of emancipation cushioned the blow somewhat, but it was still disastrous to the industry. Slaves left the plantations by the thousands, and there was no alternative source of labor. Sugar exports fell to a fourth of the pre-emancipation level. After a time the emancipated Negroes and mulattoes returned to the plantations and mills under a system of free labor. But Bahian sugar could not regain even a substantial part of its former importance.

BB 175 178 249 257 433 The world-wide expansion of sugar cane production, the development of the sugar beet, and the improvement of sugar technology had changed sugar from an expensive luxury to a relatively cheap semi-necessity. The sugar industry of the Recôncavo always had been based upon the production of small quantities of a high-value product. Only with great reluctance and considerable difficulty could it convert itself to cheap mass production.

B 175 178 433 439 The Brazilian industry as a whole was unable to compete effectively in the international mass market. Brazilian exports in the early twentieth century dropped to one-half, even one-third of the nineteenth century level. At the London Conference in 1937, Brazil could claim as her quota only 1.6 per cent of the total international sugar trade.

B BB 175 43 249 257 The Brazilian industry maintained itself behind a tariff wall. The more efficient and strategically located sugar areas of Campos (Rio de Janeiro) and São Paulo had access to growing local markets in the expanding Central-South. But Bahia had no sizable local market, and distance limited its access to the main Brazilian markets. Moreover, it was an inefficient, high-cost producer. Under these circumstances it could not compete in a free-market situation.

B 175 257 178 B [249] For the sugar industry as a whole the difficulties of adjustment to the almost complete loss of foreign markets were increased by the necessity for sweeping technological reorganization.[40] Until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Brazil's entire sugar production was manufactured in small and primitive *engenhos* which used the open pan method ~~and~~ produced dark, low-quality sugar. The development of the steam engine, vacuum pans, centrifuges, and filters had made possible a mill both larger and more efficient. Under the name of *engenho central* (central mill), the new industrial complex

B 175 was introduced in Brazil after 1870.[41] As might be expected, the
257 more progressive Central-South led in the modernization of the industry.
178 BB The Northeast, and especially Bahia, lagged behind--further evidence
[178] of Bahia's resistance to change.

BB The technological revolution had two historical stages:
175 249 (1) *engenhos centrais*, and (2) *usinas*,[42] both of which still are
257 clearly identifyable in Bahia (as is their predecessor, the *engenho*
471 stage). In the *engenho central* stage the mills purchased cane from
178 *fornecedores* (suppliers). These suppliers were old *engenho* properties
which no longer operated a mill. The resistance of the *fornecedores*
to a strict scheduling of delivery and price soon caused dissatisfaction among the mill owners. They began to buy out the *fornecedores*
and go into direct production of cane.[43] The source of cane is the
basic distinction between the *engenho central* system and the *usina*
system. Once the central mill grew most of its own cane, it became
an *usina* and entered the second phase of the technological revolution.
The sugar industry in the present-day Recôncavo is characterized by
both systems. In practice the systems employed by the various sugar
mills tend to include features characteristic of both types, and there
EB [249] is no stereotype. The existing systems in Bahia are distinct from
[257] those of the Central-South, where the *usinas* have largely replaced
the *engenhos centrais*.

NB In the twentieth century, as in the nineteenth, the Recôncavo
BB 175 persisted in its monoculture and was reluctant to accept technological
178 innovations in agriculture and industry. This conservatism was
249 257 typical of most of the Northeast, but in Pernambuco the industry
471 began simultaneously to intensify its monoculture and to modernize
its industrial plant, and this state ultimately became the largest
sugar producing state of Brazil.

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NB
175 In the first quarter of the twentieth century this competition
249 257 of the more efficient and centrally located sugar industry of the
B Central-South threatened to bankrupt the Northeast.[44] Because the
175 654 nation feared that a collapse of the sugar economy in the Northeast
249 257 would destroy the social and economic base of these states, steps
B were taken to stabilize the industry. In 1933 the *Instituto do*
[647] *Açúcar e do Álcool* (Institute of Sugar and Alcohol) was created as
a semi-autonomous branch of the federal government. Its purpose was
to stabilize prices, maintain an equilibrium of production through
quotas, and to control foreign sale of sugar. The effect of this
program has been to subsidize the less efficient industry of the
Northeast at the expense of the industry of the Central-South.

NB
EB During World War II temporary disruption of the national
178 249 production quota system allowed the Central-South to expand, an
257 advance which it continued to maintain after the war. This expansion
43 limited the markets available to the sugar industry of the Northeast.
BB In Bahia the relative decline in sugar production, begun in the
178 249 1860's, continued steadily except for a break during and following
257 433 World War I. In 1952 the mills of Bahia produced only 60,279 tons
B of (white) sugar of a total Brazilian production of 1,785,017 tons.[45]
[433]

While the sugar industry of the Recôncavo was losing markets
BB 175 in the initial half of the twentieth century, the tobacco industry
178 249 was able to maintain and in some cases even to expand its markets.
43 Although the maximum level of export of Brazilian tobacco was
reached in 1902 (50,000 tons), the decline thereafter was only
moderate, and the export was stabilized, except for World War II,
at about 30,000 tons, 80 per cent of which was from Bahia. In 1865
BB 175 the first cigarette factory in Bahia had been founded.[46] Small
277 472 operators had produced cigars for some time, but by the beginning

BB 175 277 472

of the twentieth century there were four cigarette factories and twelve cigar factories in the Recôncavo.[47]

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As was characteristic for other products in Brazil, a semi-autonomous government organization was set up to stabilize the tobacco industry in Bahia—the Instituto Bahiano do Fumo (Bahian Institute of Tobacco). Founded in 1935, the Instituto attempts to stimulate the production and improvement of techniques and quality, supervise marketing through a grading system, set minimum prices, and control export of leaf tobacco. Although the Instituto has not succeeded in changing significantly the techniques of the tobacco industry, it has been reasonably successful in maintaining production and price.

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Just as Bahia had been displaced from its leading position within Brazil, so in turn was the Recôncavo displaced from its exalted position within the state. Tobacco replaced sugar as Bahia's leading commercial product in the nineteenth century, but forfeited its position to cacao in the twentieth century. The replacement of sugar by tobacco was primarily a shift within the Recôncavo, but the rise of cacao brought to the fore Bahia's southern coast. In one sense, however, the Recôncavo retained its old centrality—Salvador remains today the leading political and economic focus of the state, even for the cacao trade.

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The continued importance of the Recôncavo in Bahia has been partially the result of the vested interests of the sugar and tobacco systems.

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In addition, the Recôncavo remains today the leading center of population in Bahia, despite its relative decline. In 1872 the Recôncavo had at least 450,000 out of a total state population of 1,379,616. Thereafter the position of the Recôncavo declined, so that by 1940 only one-fourth of the almost four million people of the state lived in this region. However, the compact population

161 distribution and the vested political and economic interests of the
162 Recôncavo allowed it to continue as the dominant region of the state.

177 The Recôncavo has remained a conservative area in Brasil, and
178 within the state it seems to exert a strong traditional influence. On
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249 a national scale, however, the traditional values which are preserved
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181 in Bahian culture have been overridden by the aggressive dynamism of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Moreover, the economic core of tradition in the Recôncavo--the sugar-producing upper class--is being progressivel infiltrated and dominated by the new economic interests of the Central-South. The effects of these new economic interests are manifest in the administrative and labor problems of the sugar industry in the present decade.[48] New economic groups also are coming to the fore in the tobacco industry.

The technological revolution in the sugar industry and the emergence of a new "progressive" upper class have weakened but not destroyed the traditional orientation of the Recôncavo. The cultural patterns which have so successfully resisted basic change for almost four centuries will not easily give way. However, the issues have been joined, and already the old technology, the old upper class, and the old inter-class social fabric have been profoundly disturbed. In the long run it seems inevitable that the cultural patterns of the Recôncavo will have to accommodate many new values.

177 Not all the new social forces are restricted to the upper
178 class. More and more new technology, such as the automobile, new
565 political and social institutions, such as labor unions, and new ideas
181 from the South, brought through newspapers, radios, and travelers, have affected the lives of the lower classes. While the access of this group to new ideas is more limited than that of the upper class,

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To the extent that the economic and social position of the aristocratic group is usurped by the new upper class elements in Salvador, the pre-eminent role of the aristocrats in the sugar cane zone is threatened.

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In Bahia the strong aristocratic class derived from the sugar cane system. Outside the sugar areas a well-defined aristocratic class is lacking--the upper level in these areas is occupied by groups similar to the local upper class of the sugar zone. In the tobacco and manioc zones, around the sugar cane area, the members of the local upper class, including those with urban residences, are very intimately involved in agriculture. In this agricultural zone the upper class has few personal or family connections with the Salvador upper class.

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The lower class outside the sugar areas is composed of cultivators and urban workers and probably has more gradations and a less heirarchical structure than is characteristic of the sugar area. The cultivators are semi-independent small farmers, renters, and share croppers of varying dependence and social position. Social mobility appears to be about equal to that in the corresponding stratum of the sugar zone.

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Compared with the United States, the opportunity for educational and cultural development in the lower class is much more severely restricted by the prevailing poverty. Effective literacy is low among the manual laborers of city or countryside. The middle groups and local upper classes are usually, but not universally, literate, but for the most part their cultural horizons are limited. In contrast, the cultural opportunities and outlook of the aristocratic and big-business class is both cosmopolitan and sophisticated. Education in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Europe, or the United States is not uncommon. Nevertheless, large segments of this class remain distinctly provincial in their cultural orientation--this is particularly true of the decadent aristocratic families.

BB 241 464 178 166 731

agricultural population is small. However, refugees from the drought also found their way into most parts of the Recôncavo. Even in 1953 they were to be encountered as squatters in Muritiba, as cane field workers in Santo Amaro, and as porters in Salvador.

Refugees from s̄ecas usually have not become permanent additions to the labor force of the Recôncavo. The sertanejo of the Northeast is renowned in Brazil for his attachment to his terra (native soil), no matter how cruelly it treats him. Especially those migrants who settle as squatters on the margins of the Recôncavo seem only to wait for the renewal of the rains to return to the sertão. In 1953 migrants were still entering the Recôncavo along the Feira de Santana-Salvador highway, but others were boarding the train in Salvador and returning to the sertão. They had come from the sertão on foot or by begging rides on trucks, found jobs in the Recôncavo, saved a few cruzeiros, and were returning to their native terra. Some refugees remain in the Recôncavo, of course, but the number is proportionately very small.

BB 249 464 166 178

Several sections of the Recôncavo, notably the sugar cane zone, are losing rural population and agricultural labor at a serious rate. The municípios of Santo Amaro and São Francisco lost 6,400 agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. The reduction in the number of agriculturalists in the sugar area is at least partially a symptom of the growing rationalization of labor under the big usinas, which increasingly dominate the sugar industry. The emigration from these areas is selective--the majority of the emigrants are young adults who leave to seek employment and broader opportunity elsewhere.

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Emigration within the Recôncavo is one current of the great tide of agricultural unrest ascribed to all of Brazil.

> The rural Brazilian of the lower classes is notorious for his nomadic or migratory habits, for his lack of permanent attachment to the soil, for his tendency to

241 The skills of the 196,000 workers are an important agricultural
[464] resource in the Recôncavo. This resource can best be evaluated in
terms of the prevailing agricultural systems: hoe and rudimentary plow
agriculture. Hoe agriculture is universal in the Recôncavo, and in a
society so thoroughly permeated with agricultural activity it is fair
to assume that, except for some completely urbanized laborers in
Salvador, all workers are familiar with the simple tools of this form
of cultivation. Plow cultivation is more specialized; it is used
[249] throughout the sugar cane zone but only in preparing the fields for
planting. The seedstalks are covered with a hoe, and knives are used
[407] for weeding and harvesting. Outside the sugar zone plows are rarely
encountered.

[231] The domesticated animals which play a prominent role in culti-
vation in the Recôncavo are oxen, horses, mules, and donkeys, and
the rudiments of their management are almost universally understood.
The prominent crops of the Recôncavo are ubiquitous—manioc, corn,
beans, sweet potatoes, peanuts, tobacco, sugar cane, bananas, and
oranges are grown in all areas, and their cultivation under the pre-
vailing agricultural system is common knowledge. There is little
present need for agricultural labor specialized beyond this level.

241 It is clear that the introduction into the Recôncavo of new,
178 radically different crops or techniques of cultivation would alter this
[181] relatively favorable situation. The agricultural worker of the Recôncavo,
like his counterpart in many other parts of the world, is inherently
conservative. As in the past, he will continue to resist even minor
changes, such as improved methods of seed selection in corn or im-
proved curing of tobacco. More radical changes would probably be
resisted more strongly. The problem of "selling" new ways of pro-
[212] ducing agricultural products is difficult not only because of the

TABLE XII

COMPOSITION OF RECÔNCAVO POPULATION 1940-1950

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Year	Total Population	Urban Centers	Rural Population	Agricultural Labor Force
		Absolute		
1940	924,032	368,932	555,100	189,967
1950	1,072,452	493,944	578,508	196,468
Change	+ 148,420	+125,012	+ 23,408	+ 6,501
		Relative		
1940	100 o/o	40 o/o	60 o/o	21 o/o
1950	100 o/o	46 o/o	54 o/o	18 o/o
Change		+ 6 o/o	- 6 o/o	- 3 o/o
		Growth of Recôncavo Population		
1940 to 1950	16 o/o	34 o/o	4 o/o	3 o/o
		Per cent of Total Growth		
1940 to 1950	100 o/o	84 o/o	16 o/o	4 o/o

633 connections with the western section of the Recôncavo. On the other hand, its location combines oceanic access with the rest of Brasil, Europe, and the Americas and a direct approach, via the Bay, to all of the central municípios of the Recôncavo.

161 The major concentrations of rural, agricultural population in
162 the region are in the outer municípios of the Southwestern, Northwestern,
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464 and Northern Recôncavo. In the southwest, there is a notable concentra-
tion on the Crystalline Uplands. In the northern part of the Recôncavo,
the concentrations lie along the dissected edges of the Tertiary
[134] taboleiros. Thus most of the agricultural people of the region live
[132] in upland areas of deep, porous soils and marginal rainfall. The
only major lowland concentration of agricultural people is in the
area of Cretaceous clay soils on the Coastal Plain of the Central
[249] Recôncavo. The relatively small size of the agricultural population
[178] in this area is reflective of the declining role of sugar cane culti-
vation in the Recôncavo.

244 433 311 manioc and produced 38 per cent of its 393,720 tons of harvested roots. Within this sub-region manioc occupied up to 20 per cent of the total land area, i.e., 20 hectares per square kilometer (Map 23). Despite the [249] intensity of cultivation and the concentration of production, the crop is viewed by the people primarily as a means--subsistence--to an end-- [242] leaf tobacco production.[9] Manioc characteristically succeeds tobacco in the field and fallow rotation system and is used to extract the maximum possible value from such nutrients as remain in the soil.[10]

244 249 A close areal and functional relationship between the two crops is characteristic also of the linear zone of manioc cultivation which follows the belt of Intermediate Hills and the inner edge of the Uplands from the Rio Paraguaçu--at Cachoeira--to Irará. Much the same relationship exists in Santo Estêvão in the extreme west of the Recôncavo, where manioc, and tobacco, cultivation is concentrated in a zone of low serras. Apparently tobacco cultivation has been fixed by the greater precipitation around these serras, and manioc is grown in association.

The major southwestern concentration of manioc is continued beyond the Recôncavo along a belt extending through Santo Antônio and into the "coffee zone."[11] The cluster of manioc around the cidade of Santo Antônio is circum-urban, but the principal functional association is with tobacco cultivation, rather than with the small urban market. [443] On the other hand, the concentration of manioc production around the city of Nazaré reflects a dependency on the local urban market and probably on the market of Salvador. Minor concentrations of cultivation in northern Itaparica and around Salvador also are related primarily to the market of the capital city.

244 311 The relative place of manioc within the agricultural system, as measured by the per cent of the total cropland which it occupies, varies widely within the Recôncavo (Map 26). The statistical extremes are

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 156]

244 From the latitude of the head of the Bay northward, manioc appears
311 as a dominant crop only in the município of Pojuca. In the Central
Recôncavo, around the perimeter of the sugar cane area, manioc generally
occupied, in 1948, less than 30 per cent of the cropland. In the north,
[243] along the borders of the Recôncavo, the share of manioc in the cropland
dropped to 10 per cent, and it was replaced by corn and beans as the
basis of the subsistence economy.

244 The yield of manioc in the areas of heavy production was relatively
311 low--10 to 15 tons of roots per hectare--compared to the Central Recôncavo
433 which produced small quantities at 30 tons per hectare (Map 27). These
[134] differences in yield are related in part to the difference in soil
fertility between the Cretaceous soils of the Central Recôncavo and
the sandy loams of the Southwest. In addition, manioc is cultivated
alone in the former zone, but follows the soil-taxing tobacco plant on
the fields of the Southwest, thus further reducing the yield. The mean
yield of manioc in the Recôncavo in 1948 was 14 tons per hectare, which
is close to the 13 tons per hectare of Brazil and of the French
Cameroons, but much higher than the 7 tons per hectare of Java and
Madura.[13]

244 Manioc is, then, a crop characteristic of most parts of the
249 Recôncavo and the surrounding zone, except in the sugar cane area and
[242] the Tabular Uplands. The area of greatest concentration of cultivation
and production is the Southwestern Recôncavo where manioc is integrated
with tobacco production in a system of land rotation. In addition,
as discussed above, manioc has the greatest relative importance of the
crops of two zones in which the total area cultivated is small: the
southwestern belt of forested lowland and the drier, scrub-forest
Crystalline Uplands.

Tobacco. Tobacco was originally cultivated in the Recôncavo as 249 an adjunct to the sugar economy, but today it is the chief commercial product of the region. The state of Bahia, in which the Recôncavo plays so prominent a role, is the leading producer of tobacco in Brazil, though Minas Gerais and Rio Grande do Sul are almost as important in total quantity produced. However, the tobaccos of these states are not comparable, either in price or physical characteristics and ultimate utilization. Rio Grande do Sul specializes in cigarette tobacco, and Minas Gerais in rope tobacco, *fumo em corda*. In Bahia, and especially in the Recôncavo, the chief tobacco product is leaf, *fumo em fôlha*, which is used for cigars. In addition to the production in these centers, there is widespread small-scale cultivation of tobacco throughout the eastern half of Brazil, principally of *fumo em corda* for local consumption.

The tobacco of Bahia is a variety of *Nicotiana tobacum*, sold under the name of *Bahia-Brasil*. The original *Bahia-Brasil* apparently was borrowed from the local Indians or introduced from one of the other Brazilian settlements. From time to time other varieties, brought from Cuba, Sumatra, and the Connecticut Valley, have been introduced; but all have been submerged in the older native stock.

Both forms of tobacco--leaf and rope--are produced within the state of Bahia. The leaf tobacco, *fumo em fôlha*, is used for cigar filler and binder, and, in the cheaper grades of Brazilian cigars, for wrapper. The *Bahia-Brasil* leaf is reputed to have a distinctive aroma and is a preferred filler for certain types of European cigars. Its color is relatively dark, and because of the darkness and imperfections of the leaves, it is not used as wrapper in quality cigars. Havana, Sumatra, and Connecticut Valley leaf are imported in small quantities and used for wrapper in the more expensive grades of cigars produced in Brazil

• 249 Rope tobacco, fumo em corda, is a twist of sweetened, fermented tobacco of rope-like appearance which is smoked in pipes or in hand-made cigarettes or may be used as a chewing tobacco—however, the habit of chewing tobacco is not common in the Recôncavo. This type of tobacco [175] originally was produced for exchange in the slave trade, but at the [439] present time it is consumed almost exclusively by the rural lower class. [567] [565] The urban lower class, formerly also consumers of rope tobacco, are turning increasingly to manufactured cigarettes, which for the most part are made from the tobacco grown in Rio Grande do Sul.

In general the production of leaf tobacco in Brasil is restricted to the Recôncavo and adjacent sections of Bahia, but rope tobacco is a product of the sertão of Bahia and the northeastern interior and of Minas Gerais. In Bahia the moderate rainfall and the sandy soils of the humid edge of the crystalline zone, in areas of caatinga or mata vegetation, produce a relatively mild leaf. The best—most valuable—leaf of Bahia is the Mata grade of the Southwestern Recôncavo and certain adjacent municípios.[14] Of the Mata grade, the highest quality comes from Cruz das Almas. Rope tobacco is made primarily from the harsh, strong leaves grown in the sertão, but it is made also from leaves of poorer plants or very strong end-of-season leaves of plants originally harvested for fumo em fôlha. Thus the Recôncavo may sometimes produce small quantities of rope tobacco, but the main Bahian production is north of the Recôncavo in the agreste, especially in Inhambupe and Entre Rios.

The cultivation of tobacco will be discussed in the chapter on agricultural systems (Chapter VI), but one singular characteristic of its harvesting should be borne in mind in evaluating production statistics. In distinction to cultivation of quality tobacco in most other parts of the world, Bahia-Brasil is harvested repeatedly until

249 the plant will no longer produce marketable leaves. This is done by cutting the entire stalk just above the shoots and allowing the plant to re-grow. The cutting and harvesting are repeated several times, producing a large quantity of leaf, but the prolonged harvest has resulted in accelerated impoverishment of the soil.

249 311 433 In 1948 the Recôncavo planted almost 22,000 hectares of tobacco,[15] and harvested over 20,000 tons of leaf. Each of four Recôncavo municípios grew more than 2,000 hectares and harvested over 1,000 tons: Cruz das Almas, Conceição do Almeida, São Gonçalo, and Irará. Two outlying municípios—Alagoinhas and Santo Estêvão—cultivated 1,000 hectares or more. In addition, one município contiguous with the Recôncavo, Santo Antônio, had over 6,000 hectares of tobacco and harvested over 5,000 tons of leaf. In Bahia, this município was second only to Cruz das Almas in area and production of leaf tobacco.

The maps of area (Maps 28 and 29) and production (Maps 30 and 31) of tobacco indicate quite clearly the overwhelming importance of the Southwestern Reconcâvo and the adjacent northern part of Santo Antônio. This area resolves itself into two clusters (Table XIII). The most important of these is centered in Cruz das Almas and includes the adjacent parts of Conceição do Almeida, São Filipe, and Muritiba. In 1948 this cluster had about 10,000 hectares of tobacco—46 per cent of the Recôncavo tobacco area—and produced about 9,500 tons—48 per cent of the total crop. Because of the high quality of the leaf, the crop of this area was valued at almost 58 per cent of the total value of tobacco production in the Recôncavo.

The second most important cluster of leaf tobacco production in east-central Bahia is centered on the cidade of Santo Antônio and lies almost entirely outside of the Recôncavo. In 1948 the total area of tobacco in this cluster was about 6,500 hectares, and the total

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 166]

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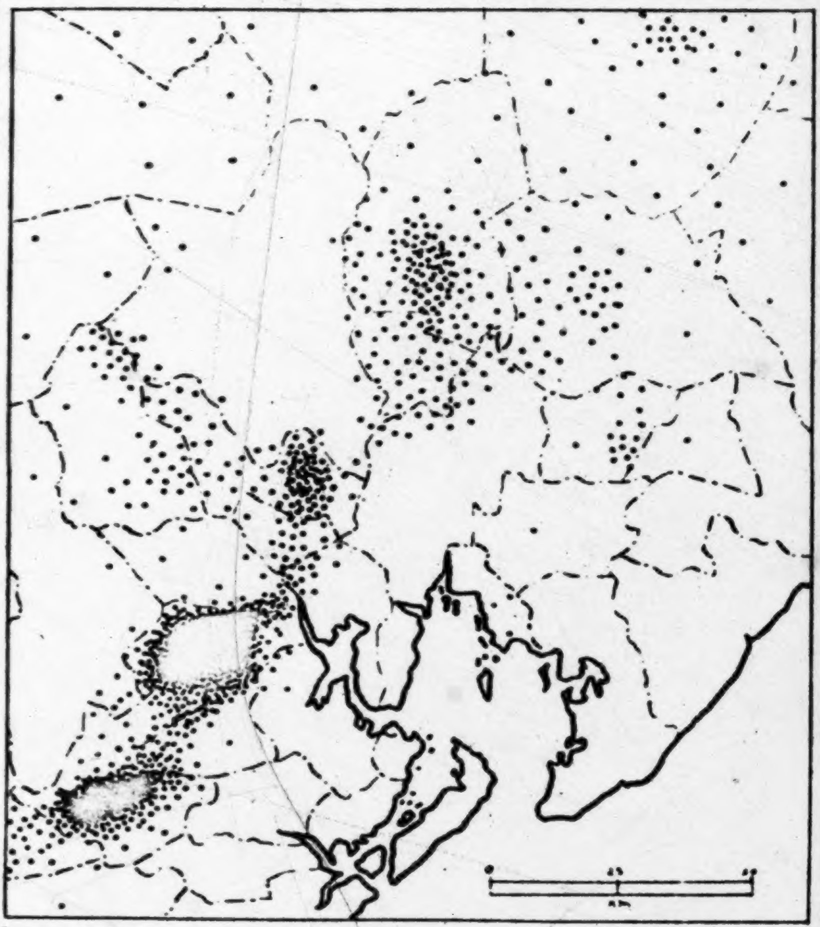

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Tobacco—1948

Source of data: Producão Agrícola: 1948

MAP 28

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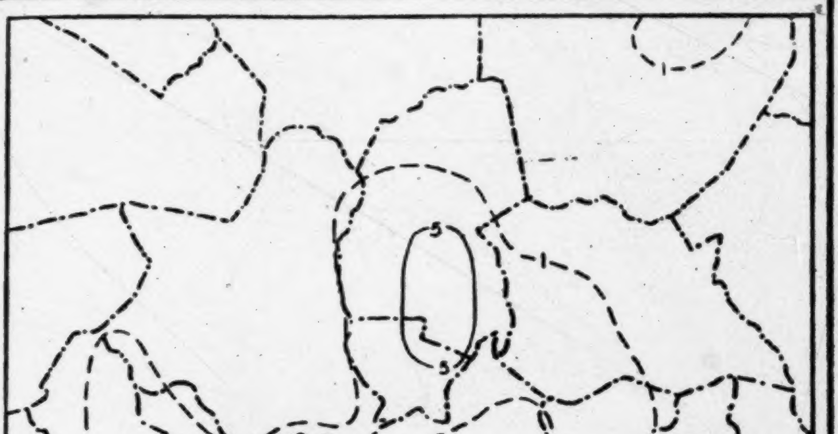
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RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Hectares of Tobacco per Square Kilometer of Total Area--1948

Source of data: Producão Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 29

*102
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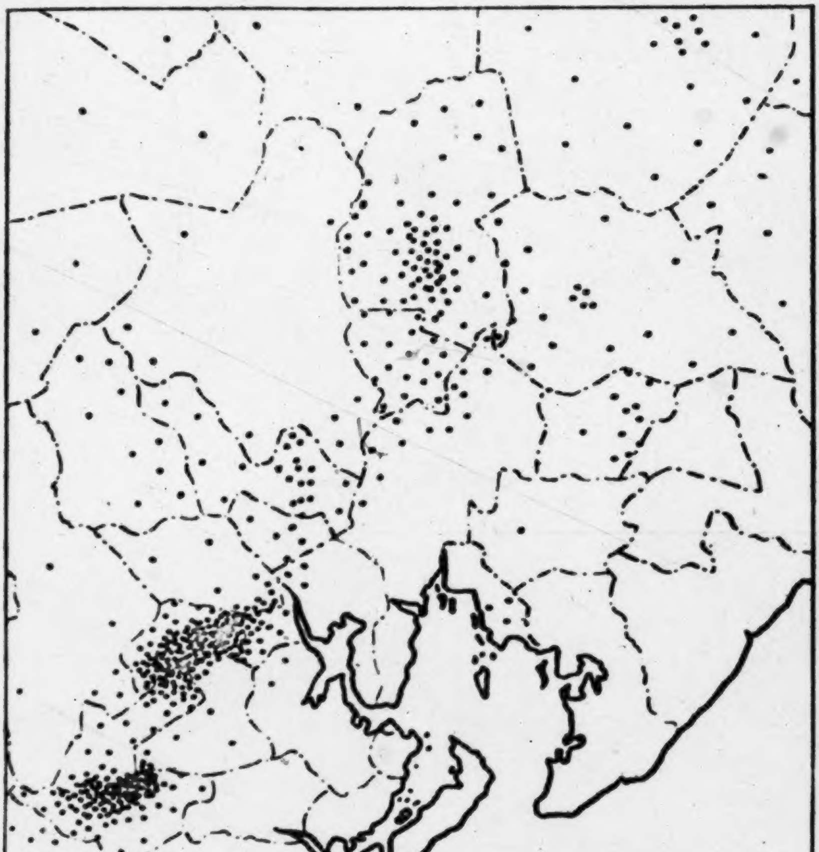
311
433



Each dot = 50,000 Kilograms

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Tobacco--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 30

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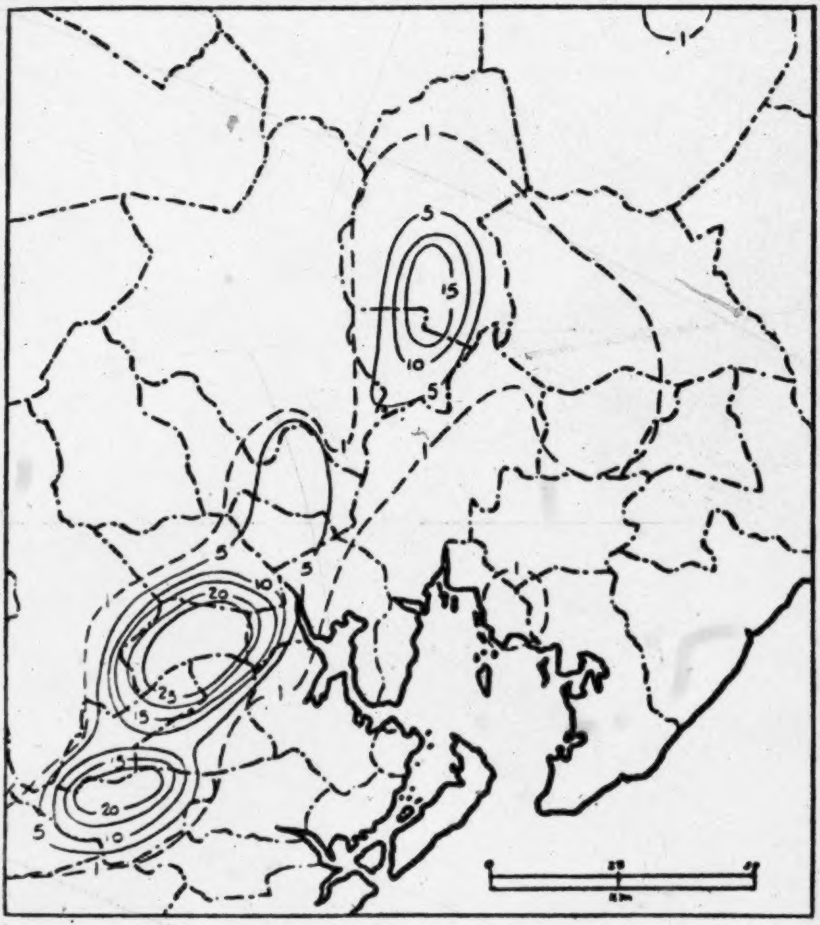
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RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Tons of Tobacco per Square Kilometer of Total Area—1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 31

TABLE XIII

PRINCIPAL CENTERS OF TOBACCO PRODUCTION IN THE RECÔNCAVO AND IN BRAZIL IN 1948

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433

	Area (ha.)	Production (tons)
Southwestern Recôncavo:		
Cruz das Almas (all)	6,850	6,680
Conceição do Almeida (part)	2,000	2,000
São Filipe (part)	500	480
Muritiba (part)	810	500
Total	10,160	9,660
Santo Antônio:		
Santo Antônio (all)	6,200	5,250
Conceição do Almeida (part)	200	400
São Filipe (part)	190	190
Total	6,590	5,840
São Gonçalo (part)	2,000	900
Irará (part)*	2,500	3,000
Total - Principal Centers	21,250	19,400
Total - Recôncavo	21,886	20,191
Total - State of Bahia**	44,248	35,758
Total - State of Minas Gerais**	23,452	13,340
Total - Rio Grande do Sul***	40,236	44,495

*Irará produced a relatively large amount of tobacco for its area, but this was of a stronger and less valuable type of leaf tobacco ("Feira").

**Including a large quantity of rope tobacco--fumo em corda.

***Principally cigarette tobacco.

Source: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

production about 5,800 tons, so that it was somewhat over one-half as important as the Southwestern Recôncavo cluster discussed above.

Two lesser clusters centralize tobacco cultivation north of the Rio Paraguaçu. One is around the cidade of São Gonçalo, with about 2,000 hectares and 900 tons of tobacco in 1948. In the Northern Recôncavo, Irará was the center of a less compact concentration, with about 2,500 hectares and 3,000 tons of tobacco in 1948.

249 In addition to these major and minor concentrations of production, there was scattered cultivation in most of the outer ring of *municípios* of the Recôncavo, especially in Catu, in Alagoinhas, and in Santo Estêvão and adjacent western São Gonçalo. On the other hand, tobacco cultivation was conspicuously absent in the Central and Southern Recôncavo.

249 In 1948 tobacco was grown on 27 per cent of the total cropland of
311 the region. The zone of intensive tobacco production, as shown by the proportion of the cultivated land which it occupies, is clearly revealed on the accompanying map (Map 32). In a continuous belt, which follows the humid edges of the Uplands and adjacent Intermediate Hills from Santo Antônio to Catu, tobacco was grown on over 30 per cent of all cropland in 1948. There were extensive areas in which over half the cultivated land was in tobacco—a remarkable showing for a non-food commercial crop grown on a small scale by semi-subsistence cultivators.

The gradients which separate the belt of intensive tobacco production from the Bay littoral and from the Central Recôncavo are very steep. On the other hand, the inland transition from intensive tobacco production to the scattered cultivation of the dry *caatinga* is very gradual. In the lowlands tobacco almost everywhere occupied less than 10 per cent of the cultivated area in 1948; in the *caatinga* to the west it was grown on 10 to 20 per cent of the total cropland.

249 There is a basic association between tobacco cultivation and the
134 Crystalline and Tabular Upland; production is concentrated along the
132 wetter, inner edge of these formations, in a zone which closely corresponds to the forest and scrub forest boundary. Tobacco is practically excluded from the humid Coastal Plain and littoral sections of the Intermediate Hills. It might be assumed that the location of tobacco is a result of the monopolization of the humid, clay-soil Coastal Plain

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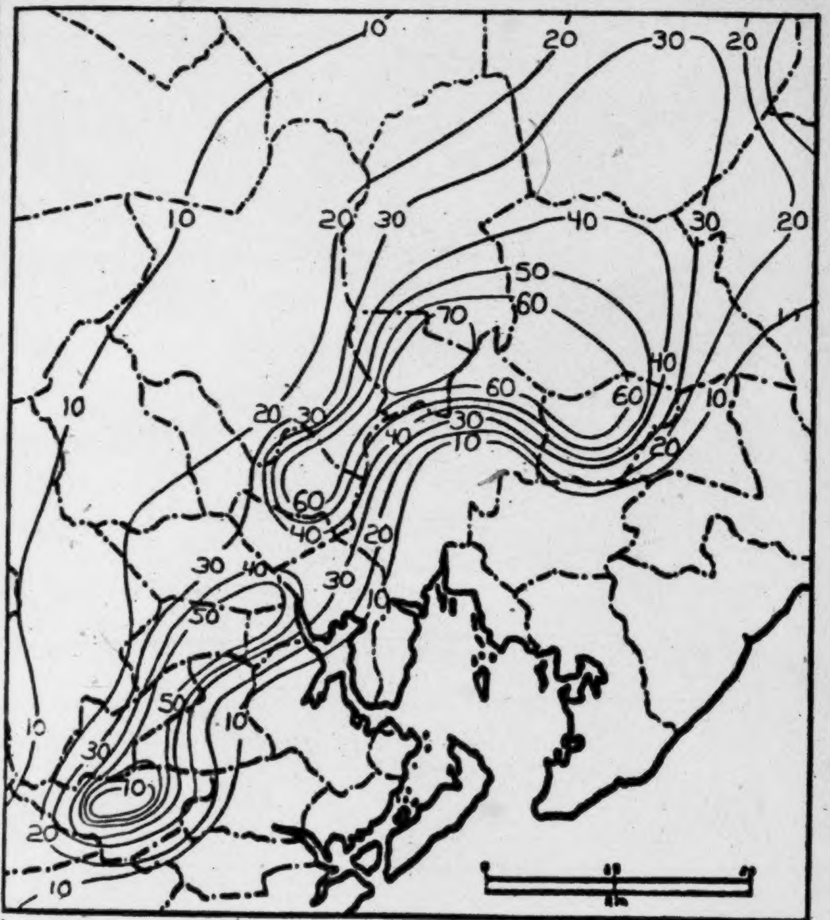
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RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Cropland in Tobacco—1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 32

249 134 132 by sugar or other commercial crops, but this does not appear to be the case. There are a few patches of tobacco in the garden plots of sugar cane workers, but the small quantity of tobacco produced in the Central Recôncavo is rank and harsh, despite cultivation practices almost identical with the high-quality areas. Apparently high grade leaf production is excluded by the climate-soil complex of this zone.

Local agronomists and cultivators familiar with tobacco cultivation insist that such areas as Cruz das Almas and São Gonçalo are optimum for tobacco, and certainly the leaf of these areas brings the best price. It is said that the best tobacco in these areas is produced on the "poor" soils of the upland surfaces--leached sandy loams. In the Southwestern Recôncavo the "better" soils--that is, heavier soils found on the slopes and bottomlands--are not used for tobacco, although they produce good yields of corn, beans, or manioc. Precipitation is also a very important locational factor, both indirectly, as an agent in soil formation, and directly, as a source of moisture for the plants. Too little moisture will produce a gummy tobacco which is very difficult to cure. Too much moisture, a rarity in these areas, produces a washed-out, insipid leaf.

A comparison of the maps of tobacco types^{16} (Map 138) and of soils (Map 6) and precipitation (Maps 7 and 8) indicates quite clearly that the best grade of tobacco--"Mata"--is grown on the most humid section of the zone of crystalline soils, i.e, the Southwestern Recôncavo and Santo Antônio. This is also, of course, the area of most intensive production. In general this same combination of physical elements is characteristic of the smaller "Mata" area around São Gonçalo.

The second most valuable grade of tobacco, "Caatinga," is grown west of the Southwestern Recôncavo and, within the Recôncavo, in

249 134 132 Santo Estêvão. The third grade—"Feira"—is grown on the humid edge of the sandy Tertiary uplands. This suggests that it is soil which is the immediate control of quality, although precipitation is the over-all factor. Although the southern part of the zone of Tertiary soils is more humid than the crystalline zone peripheral to the Recôncavo, the tobacco of the former--"Feira"—is less valuable than the "Caatinga" grade of the latter. The drier Tertiary zone produces only fumo em corda but the even drier crystalline zone, stretching west to the Chapada Diamantina, manages to produce the cheap but salable "Sertão" leaf. Thus in every case the crystalline soils, with equal or even less precipitation than the Tertiary zone, produce a better grade of leaf tobacco.

249 433 In 1948 the yields of the main zones of tobacco cultivation were from 750 to 1,000 kilograms per hectare (Map 33). Yields were higher in the Central Recôncavo, where there is only trivial production of low quality leaf. Yields were also higher in isolated sections of the "Sertão" and "Caatinga" grade zones to the west.[17] The mean yield of the Recôncavo, 840 kilograms per hectare, was slightly above the 808 kilograms per hectare of the state of Bahia as a whole. This yield compares very favorably with the yield of Cuba, 640 kilograms per hectare, and Indonesia, 530 to 650 kilograms per hectare on Estates, but is lower than that of Mexico, 1,010, Canada, 1,360, or the United States, 1,400.[18]

[241] The production of most of the chief crops of the Recôncavo is somewhat stabilized by steady demand for food--in the case of manioc, corn, and beans—or by government control—in the case of sugar cane. In contrast, tobacco is a highly speculative and mobile crop. It is produced primarily by small cultivators in anticipation of a combination

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 172]

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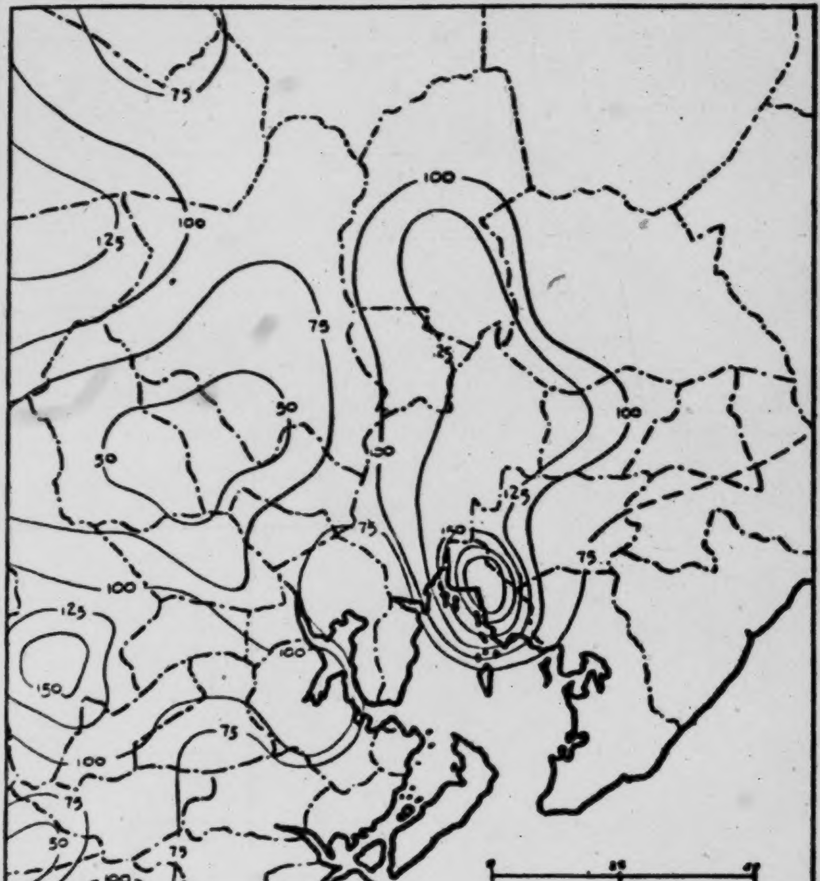
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Km

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Yield of Tobacco—1948

Tons of Kilograms per Hectare

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 33

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433

of high yield and high prices. Lack of capital or, as a result of a low price during the preceding year, lack of incentive may cause planted area to fall very low. Optimism generated by the high price of the preceding year or a relatively favorable source of credit may cause planted area to be increased very strongly. Thus the curve of planted area plunges up and down, usually lagging a year or so behind prices, as the small cultivator and his creditor, the merchant-tobacco buyer, vainly pursue a "killing."[19]

Planted area is not the only major variable involved in tobacco cultivation. Tobacco, in distinction to sugar cane, is grown along the drier margins of the Recôncavo on "poor" or porous soils. The variations of precipitation during both the growing and the curing season, in combination with the irregularities of cultivation, have resulted in an ever-changing level of production. In addition, tobacco production like many speculative enterprises—and this is very characteristic of Brazil--is highly mobile. During the decade 1942 to 1951 the production of some municípios waxed and waned, while others burst like novas into large scale cultivation and then rapidly faded away.[20]

In the decade 1942 to 1951 the production in Cruz das Almas rose steadily to a peak in 1946 and then fell away to one-quarter of the maximum. Santo Antônio grew more rapidly, reached its peak in the same year, and then slowly declined to 50 per cent of the peak. Conceição do Almeida entered the decade strong, slumped in 1946, and then stabilized at the old level of production. São Gonçalo was stabilized from 1941 to 1946, dropped 90 per cent in 1947, and then rose slowly throughout the rest of the decade. In Irará the peak was 1944, the slump 1950. During this period the production of the state as a whole rose slowly to a 1945 maximum and fell gradually until 1951. It

249 433 is apparent that the production of the Southwestern Recôncavo and of Santo Antônio, the pre-eminent concentrations, fell away as a result of a drop in prices which began in 1947 and continued through the end of the decade. As high quality and high-cost producers, these areas were particularly hard hit by the falling price. On the other hand, Irará grows a cheaper leaf, at a lower production cost, and apparently survived the worst effects of the cut in price. The production in this municípo declined more slowly and then, in 1950, fell sharply as a result of the sêca (drought) which began in that year.

A comparison of the data for a longer period indicates that although production of the state of Bahia in 1946-1950 was about equal to that of 1931-1936, the cultivated area rose by about 25 per cent. Yields fell steadily during this period; the 900 to 1,000 kilograms per hectare of the early 30's had declined to 750 to 850 kilograms per hectare in the late 40's. The decline in yield, if not centered in the Recôncavo, was at least characteristic of the development of the region. The basic factor in the falling yields almost certainly was the exhaustion of the soil. In addition, manure, always costly, became

249 244 433 increasingly expensive and scarce. Tobacco, as has been indicated, is grown in conjunction with manioc under a land rotation system. The increasing demand for subsistence crops, particularly manioc, for the expanding population has put a continuously greater strain on the soil.

[231] At the same time, the expansion of the cultivated area has driven out most of the livestock enterprises, increasing the cost of manure and putting it beyond the reach of many cultivators. As yields began to fall it became necessary to increase the planted area in tobacco and in subsistence crops to compensate the loss. Year by year the fallow period has been progressively shortened as the tobacco-manioc system

249 244 433 has made increasingly greater demands upon the land, at least during the
decades between 1930 and 1950. In some areas, such as Cruz das Almas,
the mean fallow period seems to have been reduced to a minimum of one
or two years during the late 1940's. As the result of these developments
the município seems to be faced with the necessity of either a decrease
in production or a radical reorganization of the system of cultivation.[21]

249 241 433 However, tobacco is to Cruz das Almas or São Gonçalo what sugar
cane is to the Central Recôncavo—a way of life. Agriculture without
tobacco is both economically and culturally distressing to the cultivator
of the Southwestern Recôncavo. Unlike the sugar cane planter, the agri-
[178] culturalists of the tobacco zone cultivate crops other than the chief
commercial product, but as a cash crop they are very reluctant to accept
any substitute. Habit is a very great force in the agriculture of all
parts of the Recôncavo.

249 433 A result of the traditional and speculative orientation of the
people of the tobacco zone is the extreme importance of tobacco—a
commercial non-food crop—throughout the zone. In 1948, six municípios
of the Recôncavo cultivated more tobacco than any other crop, and in
five others it was second in importance. In only two municípios,
Itaparica and Salvador, was it lower than fourth in area occupied.

243 433 Corn. Traditionally corn (milho) is a crop of the caatinga
(scrub forest), and its greatest relative dominance is found just north-
west of the Recôncavo in the município of Serrinha. It is, however,
grown on a small scale throughout the Recôncavo, and there are at least
two areas of intensive production. Corn is overshadowed by other crops,
particularly manioc, tobacco, and sugar cane, in all parts of the
Recôncavo except the North and the Northwest.

244 433 [311] involved are very similar (Maps 39, 40, and 41). In 1948 beans occupied 9 per cent of the total cropland of the Recôncavo. While the area of the greatest dominance of corn lies north of the Recôncavo, beans had the greatest relative importance in the west, in the município of Ipirá (Map 42). The reason for this minor difference in concentration is not apparent.

244 311 433 The yield pattern as revealed by the 1948 data is very distinctive (Map 43). Relatively high yields were closely associated with the forest and scrub-forest transition from Santo Antônio in the south to Irará in the north, where, however, less than 10 per cent of the cropland was in beans. In Muritiba, Castro Alves, and Santo Antônio, where joint corn-bean cultivation is not always the rule, yields of both plants were high. In the Northern and Northwestern Recôncavo the yield patterns of the two crops, which are usually intercropped in this area, were very different. No explanation for these differences was found. The mean yield of beans in the Recôncavo in 1948 was 988 kilograms per hectare, higher than the 690 kilograms per hectare of Brazil, the 540 kilograms per hectare of French Equatorial Africa, or the 200 kilograms per hectare of India, but much lower than the 1,220 kilograms per hectare yield in the United States.

249 Sugar Cane. Much of the history and a good deal of the cultural geography of the Recôncavo could be written in terms of sugar cane [433] [178] cultivation. The colony of Bahia was organized around the cultivation of cane, and sugar was the mainstay of the colonial commercial economy until the last half of the nineteenth century. During the colonial period the cultivation of sugar cane acquired a prestige which it has never lost, despite the fact that it is no longer the most valuable nor, it seems likely, the most profitable crop of the Recôncavo.

B 249 433 Sugar cane is the fifth or sixth--depending upon the year--most valuable crop grown in Brazil, and it is cultivated, at least on a small scale, in all states of the country. Large scale commercial production, however, is confined to two areas--the Central-South (São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Minas Gerais) and the Northeast (Paraíba, Pernambuco, Alagoas, and Bahia). Each of these states produced over one million tons of cane in 1948.

B BB 249 175 177 In distinction to the principal subsistence crops of the Recôncavo, sugar cane is an old world domesticate. The variety acquired by the Portuguese from the Arabs in North Africa and brought to the colony via the Madeira Islands was the sole type cultivated during most of the colonial period, but today a number of varieties of East or West Indian origin are grown.

BB 249 Sugar cane is differentiated from other crops of the Recôncavo by the intensive monocultural character of its production. Tobacco and manioc and corn and beans are grown jointly, but sugar cane shares the land with no other crop. BB [134] [133] North of the cidade of Santo Amaro there is an extensive area of clay soils and undulating plain almost completely blanketed in bright green sugar cane. The monochrome is interrupted only by a few pastured valley bottoms or by the widely scattered usinas (sugar mills), plantation settlements, and villages. There are similar, though less extensive landscapes wherever sugar cane is important in other parts of the Recôncavo.

The system of cultivation of sugar cane is also very different from those employed in producing other crops in the Recôncavo. One planting is sufficient for several reasons, for the stalk re-develops from the root after the plant is harvested, though with progressively declining vigor. In Bahia, three, four, or five harvests from the

249 same planting are common--then the field is rested for a year and replanted to cane.[24]

249 311 Sugar cane is encountered in all parts of the Recôncavo, but it is produced commercially only in three very restricted and closely defined areas. Of the 11,695 hectares of sugar cane in the Recôncavo in 1948, over 6,000 hectares were in Santo Amaro and 650 hectares and 2,400 hectares, respectively, in adjacent São Francisco and São Sebastião (Map 44). The remaining one-third of the total sugar cane area was largely in São Filipe, 650 hectares, and Cachoeira, 530 hectares. The association between sugar cane cultivation and the Cretaceous soils is [134] very close. Within the Central Recôncavo, cane is grown only on the Cretaceous massapê, salão, and areia soils; although there are occasional outliers of Tertiary sands, no cane was observed on these soils in the course of field investigation. Cane cultivation in São Filipe is associated with similar heavy soils--the so-called crystalline massapê. [433] In 1948 the Recôncavo produced 670,626 tons of cane, 39 per cent of the total of the state, but only 2 per cent of Brazil's production. Eighty-two per cent of the cane of the Recôncavo was produced in the Central Recôncavo sugar cane zone of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião (Map 45).

Because sugar cane cultivation is so highly concentrated, the mean value of 15 per cent of the total cropland of the Recôncavo in sugar cane is somewhat misleading. What is significant is that an estimated 90 per cent of the cropland--excluding fallow land--on the Cretaceous coastal lowland at the head of the Bay was planted to cane in 1948 (Map 46). A similar, though smaller, monocultural zone lay at the head of the Bacia do Iguape in the município of Cachoeira. In the minor sugar cane area of São Filipe, cane production was less concentrated. There was also scattered cane cultivation on the lowlands

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 194]

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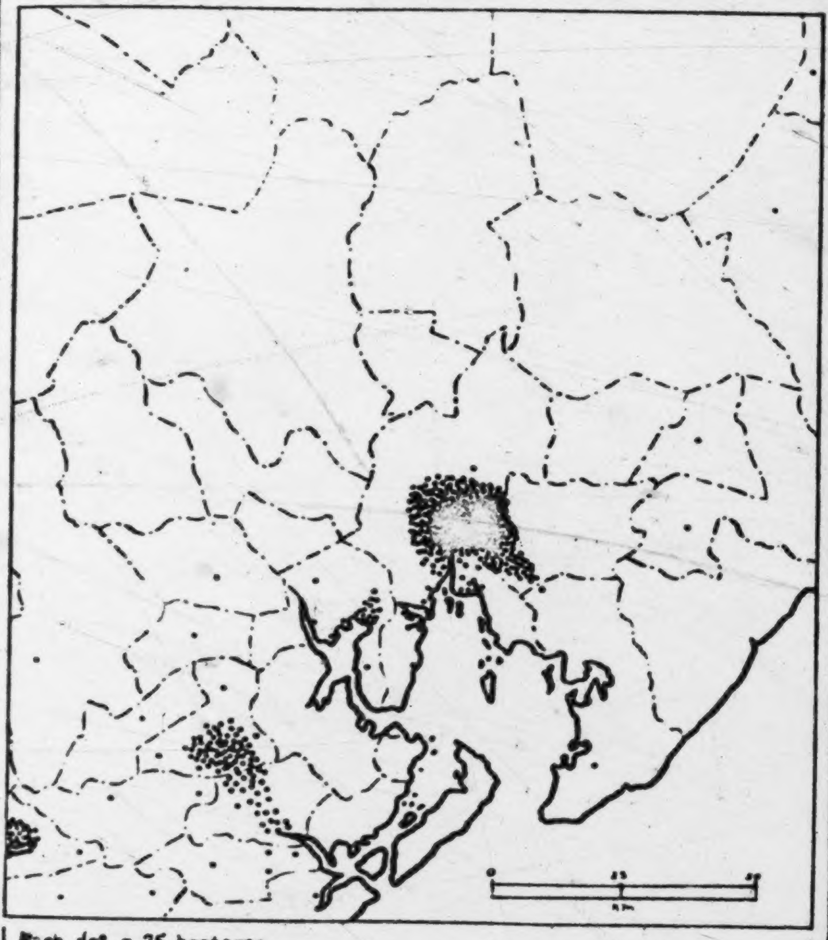

Each dot = 25 hectares

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Area in Sugar Cane--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 44

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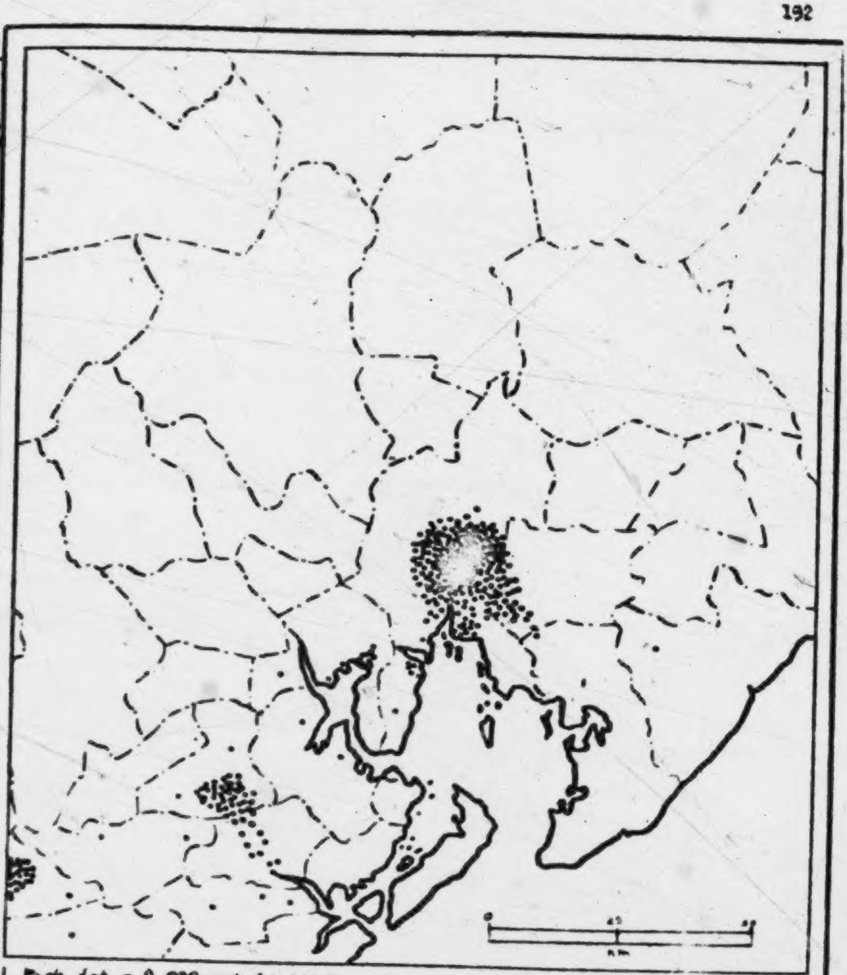

Each dot = 2,000 metric tons

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Production of Sugar Cane--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 15

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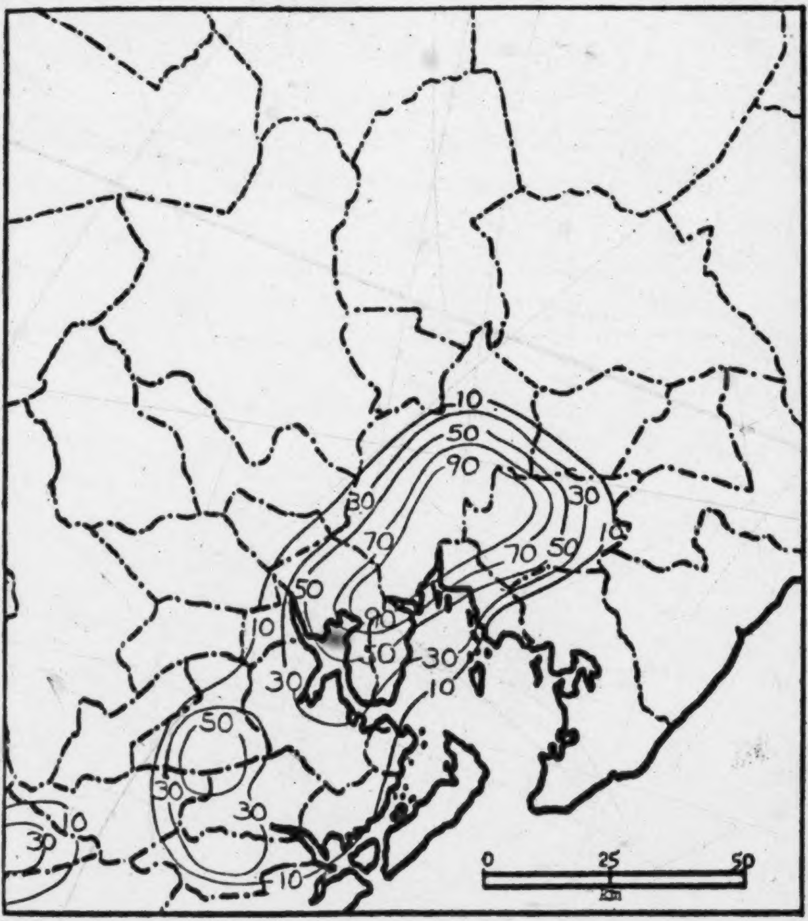
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RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of Cropland in Sugar Cane--1948

Source of data: Produção Agrícola: 1948.

MAP 46

249 and Intermediate Hills between and around these zones, but usually on
311 an exceedingly small scale.

249
311
433 The yields calculated for 1948 were as follows:

Santo Amaro	65.7 tons per hectare
São Francisco	80.0 " " "
São Sebastião	41.2 " " "
Cachoeira	37.0 " " "
São Filipe	50.0 " " "

These may be compared with 38.7 tons per hectare for Brazil as a whole, 35.0 tons per hectare for Cuba, and 89.3 tons per hectare for Java and
249 Madura for the same year. The relatively low yields of Cachoeira and
433
134 São Filipe are to be explained, at least in part, by the primitive
257 character of cultivation and processing in these more remote areas. São Sebastião is a sort of frontier zone into which the big sugar mills are expanding their operations at the expense of smaller operators, but the methods of production are still less efficient than in the main production area, and the soils are sandier and less fertile. In Santo Amaro, yields are higher on account of generally better soils and techniques, but the demands of the large usinas require intensive and continuous cultivation on even the poorer soils. On the other hand, the less intensive cultivation in São Francisco, where the mills are smaller, allows a freer selection of soils, so that the yields of this area are the highest in the Recôncavo.

244 Sweet Potatoes and Peanuts. Two other American domesticates are
311 grown in the Recôncavo, though on a small scale--peanuts and sweet potatoes. Both are cultivated primarily along the forest and scrub forest transition as auxiliary subsistence crops, in conjunction with manioc and tobacco. There are also scattered plots of these crops in most other parts of the Recôncavo. Neither crop occupied over 1 per cent of the total crop land of the region.

241 311 cane in the pockets of Coastal Plain, and coffee and sugar cane in eastern and southern São Filipe. Annuals, chiefly manioc, intrude into the lowlands and hills in two areas: west of the Bay, from Maragogipe to Nazaré; and east of the Bay, in the município of Salvador.

General Distribution of Cropland. The total cropland of the Recôncavo in 1948, based upon the sum of the areas of the individual crops, was about 80,000 hectares--6.4 per cent of the land surface of the region. This proportion compares favorably with the one per cent of the state of Bahia and the two per cent of Brazil which is cultivated. However, a comparison with areas of the same general character in the Northeast of Brazil is more appropriate and more unfavorable; in 1948 both Paraíba and Alagoas had ten per cent of their areas under cultivation in principal crops.[30]

249 311 The most intensive center of cultivation in the Recôncavo is the area of sugar cane production north of the Bay. If the land which is in fallow one year out of every five is added to the area of the cane fields, about 75 per cent of the total land surface of the area was included in the closed circle of cultivation and fallow in 1948. The smaller area of sugar cane cultivation at the head of the Bacia do Iguape had a similar, though less intensive, concentration of cultivated land.

249 244 311 In the Southwestern Recôncavo as much as one half of the total area was in crops in 1948. Most of this land, as has been seen, was in tobacco or manioc. A smaller nucleus of intensive cultivation north of the Rio Paraguaçu centered on the município of São Gonçalo, was also an area of the cultivation of tobacco and manioc. The rest of the northern part of the Recôncavo in which these two crops were

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 221]

249 244 311 important had less intensive cultivation than the two principal centers mentioned above.

241 311 Most of the remaining crops of the Recôncavo were either minor subsistence crops of general distribution, not of themselves accounting for any strong concentration of cropland, or were major crops produced in small separated centers of intensive cultivation. The Northwestern Recôncavo corn and bean areas, the coconut plantations of the beach line, the Southwestern Recôncavo sugar cane and coffee areas, and the suburban rings of orange production were zones where the mean intensity of cropland was low or, at best, modest.

There were two zones of very low intensity of cropland which have not been discussed previously because they did not have significant concentrations of individual crops. [137] [231] The belt of Intermediate Hills around the Central Recôncavo sugar cane area is largely forested, the scene of very scattered cultivation, livestock enterprises, and extractive industries. This belt was used, as will be seen, to provide fuel and to maintain a livestock reserve for the adjoining sugar cane area. The forested belt between the beach line and the inland areas of sugar cane and tobacco cultivation were used primarily for extensive systems of cultivation and for the small scale production of livestock. Only around the perimeter of Salvador was this forested belt intensively used, for in this area there were orange groves, manioc gardens, and a few very small truck farms.

241 311 178 (161) [434] Expansion of Cropland. There can be little question but that the Recôncavo as a whole was an area of expanding cropland in the 1940's.[31] In no other way could the increased food necessary for the growing population be supplied, for there were not then nor are there now external sources for large quantities of staples, excepting only livestock. There

241 are many local signs of the increase in cultivation—expanding rural
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178 settlement, overcrowded market facilities, and stories of the "old days"
[361] when life was more leisurely and the land problem less severe. Two
areas of the Recôncavo are in great contrast as far as the trend of
land use is concerned—the Central Recôncavo on the one hand and the
249 outer Recôncavo, especially the Southwest, on the other. As a result of
311
178 the stabilization of the sugar industry by the *Instituto do Açúcar e do*
[654] *Álcool* and, undoubtedly, of the high fixed costs of the sugar industry,
[656] the area under cultivation in the Central Recôncavo has remained relatively
constant. Indeed, since large-scale speculation in the cultivation
of cane is no longer feasible, as a result of government control,
it is possible that marginal lands have been withdrawn from cultivation
or have been converted to other uses. However, the evidence of the
present land use pattern, at least in the area north of the Bay, is
against this hypothesis—there are no signs of abandoned cane fields and
no extensive areas with any form of land use except those associated
with the sugar industry. There are indications of the abandonment of
cultivation near the lesser sugar cane area north of the Bacia do Iguape,
but the state of the abandoned sugar mills suggest that the decline in
cultivation took place before the last decade. In general, then, the
area in cane probably was relatively stable during the 1940's and the
1950's, at least to 1953.

249 The situation in the areas of the cultivation of tobacco and
244 manioc is more complicated, in part because the economies of these crops
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178 are not stabilized. The area in tobacco undoubtedly has fluctuated over
a wide range from year to year, although the area in manioc probably
has tended to change more steadily, since it is a basic food crop.
There seems to be no question but that during the 1940's the area in

249 244 311 178 tobacco and manioc increased in the zones of intensive production of both crops. Particularly in the Southwestern Recôncavo does the expansion of settlement, the present critical intensity of land use, the florescence of tobacco cultivation during the early 1940's, soil exhaustion as evidenced by the declining yields, and the testimony of the people of the people of the area attest to the increase during these years. Detailed field investigation in Cruz das Almas, in the heart of the Southwestern Recôncavo, indicated that if the intensity of cultivation shown by the 1948 figure is correct, then the cropland has declined in the years since. In 1948, according to the data, one-half of the total area of the município was cultivated; in 1953 the total land in crops can scarcely have been more than one quarter of the total area, and there were several signs of decline. Although there was no mature second growth, there was a good deal of capoêira de caatinga and capoêira de mata (second growth) which was about one to three meters high, that is, from about two to six years old. Cruz das Almas seems to be the extreme case of a município which went through a period of rapid growth and precipitous decline in these years, but the same processes undoubtedly have taken place in many of the other municípios where tobacco was important. Probably none of these areas have returned to the 1940 level, because of the concomitant increase in the population and the fall in the productivity of the land in the years since.

241 311 178 There have apparently been major expansions of the cropland of two areas which border on the Recôncavo. Serrinha is known as a município of recent agricultural expansion.[32] The growth of the cidade of Serrinha in the last decade is a clear expression of greater agricultural production, although the new cropland is not in the vicinity of the city. Apparently the main expansion was around a group of low serras and

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[127] [25] The official data for banana production have been adjusted, as is shown in Appendix D. According to: Immigration and Colonization Council, Modern Brazil (Rio de Janeiro: Immigration and Colonization Council, 1949), p. 119, a bunch of Brazilian bananas contains an average of 60 fruits and weighs 8 kilograms.

[351] [565] [26] Indeed, bananas are common plants within the city. Each upper class house, perched on top of the ridge, has its banana grove on the declivity behind. In the valley bottoms, banana plants surround the adobe houses of the lower class.

[27] These yields are offered for the purpose of general comparison. The diversity of conversion figures used in estimating the weight of bananas does not allow for precise comparison.

[127] [28] The official data for area in coffee in São Filipe apparently is a three-fold exaggeration, unless the yields are incredibly low. The production data are more reasonable.

[244] [29] Although manioc is not an annual plant, it is usually harvested in the Recôncavo before it is a year old. It seems more useful to classify these plants as annuals or perennials by their respective systems of cultivation rather than by their botanical characteristics.

[30] This comparison is somewhat unfair to Paraíba and Alagoas, since these states both include extensive non-agricultural areas, while the Recôncavo is an area specifically selected on the basis of intensity of agricultural land use.

[128] [31] For a comparison of 1940 and 1948 cultivated and agricultural area, see Appendix F.

[127] [249] [32] The cropland figure for Serrinha, derived from the 1948 data, is 25 per cent larger than the cultivated area given in the 1940 census. A complicating and contradictory line of evidence is supplied by the data on tobacco production, which is usually a good index of crop cultivation changes in this area. The tobacco production of Serrinha showed a decided decline from 1940 to 1948. It can only be assumed, in the light of the obvious growth of the cidade, that there was some expansion, but in food crops rather than in tobacco.

[33] The region which includes these two municípios follows the railroad from Nazaré to Jequié—the Estrada de Ferro Nazaré—and includes all the municípios touched by the line. In general this is thought of as a "coffee zone," but in its eastern section other crops, notably sugar cane and tobacco, displace coffee as the chief commercial products. Where this region approaches the Recôncavo most closely, in northern Santo Antônio, it is difficult to draw the boundary between the two. However, in 1948, even in 1953, the basic economic associations of Santo Antônio were with the railroad zone.

241 311 In many municípios on the north, west, and southwest of the Recôncavo, where corn and beans were the first and second crops, manioc and tobacco were third and fourth or vice versa. On the other hand, sugar cane was rarely a significant crop in any município where either corn, beans, tobacco, or manioc occupied a leading position.

128 241 311 Crop Combinations and Monocultures. The crop combinations shown on Map 71 and Map 72 exist on two levels, as statistical combinations of the crops of various municípios and as functional associations of crops grown in an interdependent system.

241 311 The statistical crop combinations of the Central Recôncavo do not correspond to functional systems of cultivation, for although sugar cane, manioc, and tobacco are produced within individual municípios, the cultivation of sugar cane is entirely separate. The manioc and sugar cane of São Filipe and the tobacco and coffee of São Félix are also cultivated separately. The statistical combinations, therefore, merely summarize the economic specialization and diversification of the município economies. The tobacco-manioc and the corn-bean combinations of most municípios of the perimeter of the Recôncavo, from Alagoinhas on the northeast to Conceição do Almeida on the southwest, signify functional as well as statistical relationships. On the other hand, monocultural systems dominate within the Central Recôncavo and in a few other places. The areas in which the individual functional combinations and monocultures predominate are delimited as nodal crop regions on Map 73. The arrows on the map (Map 73) indicate the intermeshing of crop regions in the transitional zones.

249 244 311 The most extensive of the crop regions belongs to tobacco and manioc. In this region, which extends from the Southwestern Recôncavo in a long arc to the Eastern Recôncavo, at least 70 per cent and usually

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 240]

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80 per cent of the total cropland was in these two crops in 1948 (Map 74). A minimum of 20 per cent of the total cropland of all parts of the region was in tobacco, and except for a break in Coração de Maria and northern Santo Amaro, in manioc. Associated with this region were two small areas in which one of the components dominated the other--tobacco dominated in Santo Antônio and manioc in Pojuca.

The relationship of tobacco and manioc area varied widely within this region of their most intensive cultivation (Map 75). The mean for all the municípios of the region was 42 per cent of the total cropland in tobacco and 36 per cent in manioc. The theoretically ideal "duo-culture" was approached in Cruz das Almas, with 54 per cent of the total cropland in tobacco and 42 per cent in manioc. The ratios of the area in the two crops in individual municípios is indicated in the list below. Only in Muritiba and Cruz das Almas did the areas of the two crops have a relative balance. In the southwestern part of the region, tobacco was ascendant in Santo Antonio and manioc in Conceição do Almeida.

Ratio of Tobacco and Manioc Area

Santo Antônio	Tobacco	3.50 to 1
Conceição do Almeida	Manioc	2 to 1
Cruz das Almas	Tobacco	1.25 to 1
Muritiba	Manioc	1.50 to 1
Conceição da Feira	Manioc	2 to 1
São Gonçalo	Tobacco	3 to 1
Coração de Maria	Tobacco	4.50 to 1
Santo Amaro*	Manioc	2.50 to 1
Catu	Tobacco	3 to 1
Pojuca	Manioc	20 to 1

*These figures are for the whole of Santo Amaro. Probably the ratio in its tobacco-manioc zone would be about 3 to 1 in favor of tobacco.

North of the Rio Paraguaçu the position of tobacco vis-à-vis manioc became progressively stronger through Coração de Maria and continued strong into Catu, where cultivation of tobacco abruptly terminated. Pojuca had a manioc monoculture, with only 4 per cent of the cropland in tobacco and 81 per cent in manioc.

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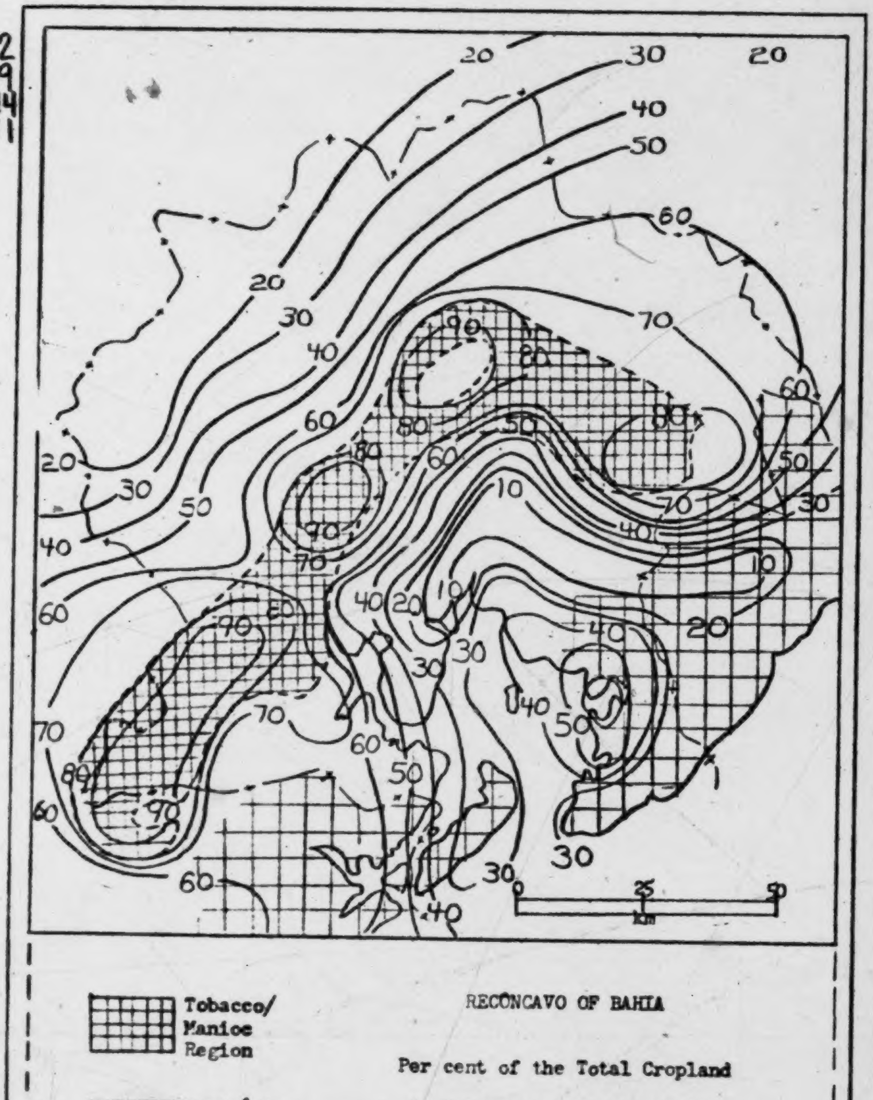
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Tobacco/ Manioc Region
Municípios with no Tobacco

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Cropland in Tobacco and Manioc—1948

MAP 74

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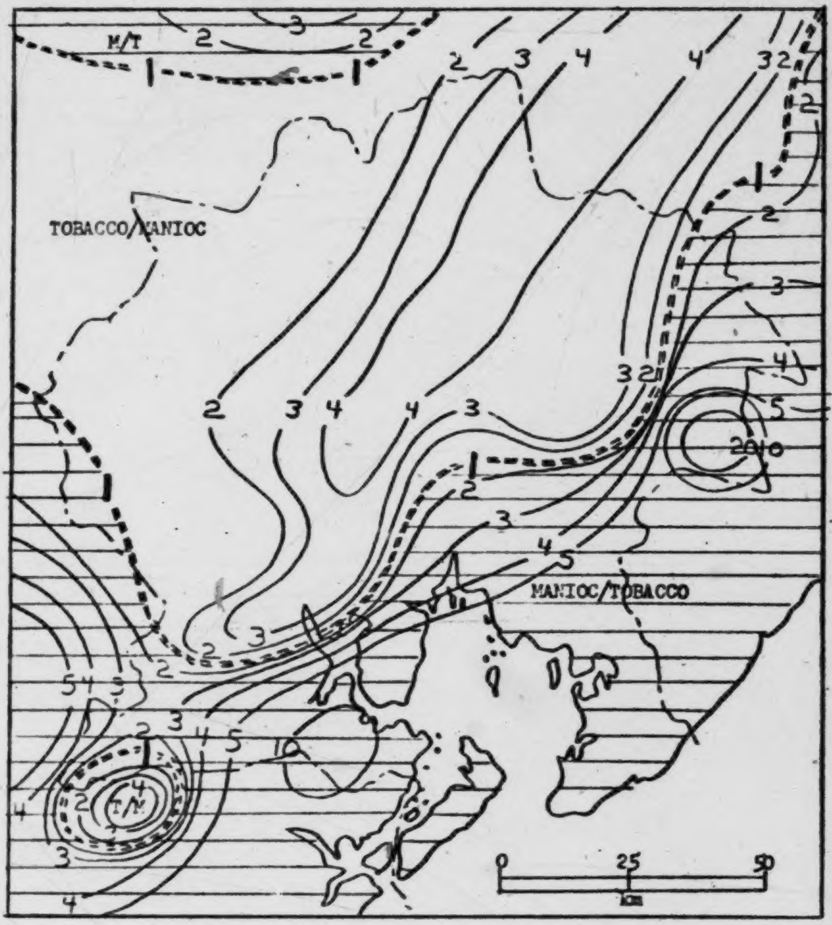
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TOBACCO/MANIOC
MANIOC/TOBACCO
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RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Relationship of the Cultivated Area in Tobacco and Manioc—1948

Tobacco/Manioc (T/M) - Area in tobacco exceeds area in manioc
Manioc/Tobacco (M/T) - Area in manioc exceeds area in tobacco

MAP 75

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The physical setting of the tobacco and manioc region is distinctive in terms of the particular combination of topography, soils, climate, and vegetation which are joined along its crescent axis. The region lies along the semi-circular edge of the interior upland, overlooking the Bay and the Coastal Plain. In the south the fields of manioc and tobacco occupy the upper surfaces of the Crystalline Uplands and the adjacent Intermediate Hills. In the north, cultivation shifts to the summits and upper slopes of the Intermediate Hills, although there is some concentration on the extreme southern edge of the *taboleiros*. Thus the region occupies the deep flat-lying residual crystalline soils in the south but in the Tertiary soil zone to the north follows the slope lands where there is more rainfall and perhaps better local soils. The close correspondence of this region with the forest and scrub-forest transition has been repeatedly emphasized. A traverse across the tobacco-manioc region anywhere between Conceição do Almeida and Feira de Santana takes one from rough hills with at least scattered patches of broadleaf evergreen forest to flat uplands with cactus, thorny brush, and *licurí* palms.

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A comparison of the map of population (Map 21) and of the relationship of tobacco and manioc cultivation (Map 75) points up the necessity for local sources of basic subsistence products. In the Southwest, where rural populations are relatively dense and where there are a number of large villages and towns, manioc tends to be cultivated over a greater area than does tobacco. In the tobacco-manioc region north of the Rio Paraguaçu, where tobacco is usually the leading crop, the density of rural population is lower, and there are no towns and only [438] a few large villages. Thus there is close relationship between the relative intensity of manioc and the size of the local market.

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The recent historical pattern of agriculture in the tobacco-manioc region can be reconstructed only on a general level. Cachoeira, which

Cachoeira, which
175 formerly included most of the western part of the region, was the center
178 of the production of tobacco for use in the slave trade. The growth of
• 249 the trade in leaf tobacco in the nineteenth century brought great changes
[567] [439] to the region, for it made tobacco a major commercial product in its own right, no longer dependent upon the slave trade. Eventually this development gave the region of tobacco production a greater economic importance than the sugar cane region, although it remained subordinate in political and social influence. The development of the new tobacco economy also gave the region a greater superiority over the sertão, which could satisfactorily produce fumo em corda, but could grow only the poorest grades of fumo em fôlha.

174 Probably the tobacco-manioc region supplied manioc as the sub-
244 sistence food of the sugar economy, since it is the only nearby area
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433 which was a center of manioc production. Perhaps manioc was produced in the sugar cane zone, but in view of the intensity of sugar cane cultivation, this seems doubtful. In any case, the present relative level of manioc production in this crop region probably dates from the nineteenth century development of cigar tobacco production.

249 The second basic crop region of the Recôncavo is the sugar cane
311 monocultural area. It is sub-divided into a major zone, in Santo Amaro, São Sebastião, and São Francisco; a minor zone in Cachoeira; and an outlier in São Filipe. It is estimated that in the first two zones 90 per cent of the cropland was in cane in 1948. In the São Filipe outlier of the sugar cane region the proportion seems to have been lower—perhaps 50 per cent of the cultivated area.

The physical association of the sugar cane region north of the
[13] Rio Paraguaçu and the Bay is relatively simple—a humid and formerly forested undulating plain composed of mixed Cretaceous soils—massapê, salão, and areia. In São Filipe the land is rougher, but the sugar cane is grown upon heavy soils similar to the Cretaceous series.

249 161 361 The portion of the sugar cane region north of the Bay is an area of relatively dense rural population, with a large number of villages and plantation settlements and one city--Santo Amaro. The remaining areas of the sugar cane region have only moderately dense rural populations and no major urban centers, although the cidade of Nazaré is very close to the southern border of São Filipe.

[128] 249 178 The tremendous historical significance of the sugar cane region has been discussed at length in the section on the historical setting of the Recôncavo. As far as the sugar cane zone of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião is concerned, the extent of the region does not appear to have changed very much since colonial times. Old engenhos are found throughout the zone, indicating past cultivation in all areas now in cane. The present usinas cultivate sugar cane intensively clear across the Cretaceous zone, so that it is not likely that the cane area has contracted. However, there are several abandoned engenhos and settlements on the north and east shores of the estuary of the Paraguaçu which seem to indicate that sugar cane cultivation was formerly more extensive around the Bacia do Iguape.

244 249 311 The two intensive crop regions of tobacco and manioc and sugar cane, as outlined above, can be viewed as nodal areas which are basic to the regional distinctiveness of the Recôncavo; they are for all practical purposes included totally within its limits; their crop patterns are not duplicated in any nearby area; and they include within their boundaries a very large part--and the most productive part--of its agricultural area.

241 311 In distinction to the above intra-Recôncavo regions there are at least three crops which overlap the borders of the Recôncavo, forming crop regions which have their most characteristic development in adjoining areas. The Atlantic coast of Salvador and Itaparica supports

241 311 Southwest of the estuary of the Rio Paraguaçu, in Maragogipe and São Filipe, the crop pattern becomes very complex, as is shown by the relative distribution of cropland in São Filipe:

Manioc	33 per cent
Sugar cane	28 " "
Coffee	25 " "
Tobacco	11 " "
Peanuts	1 " "
Corn	1 " "

Plus small areas of beans, oranges, bananas, sweet potatoes, and coconut.

174 245 249 311 It is very likely that there has been a historical connection between the coffee culture of São Filipe and the main coffee zone far to the southwest. Apparently the development of tobacco cultivation in Santo Antônio has severed this connection.

249 244 221 Cultivation Systems—Tobacco and Manioc. The "ideal" system of cultivation of tobacco and manioc[1] in the tobacco-manioc region has the following general pattern:

(1) In mid-February a small tract, very commonly with an area of one tarefa[2] but sometimes larger, is cleared in the capoêira de caatinga (second-growth scrub-forest) or the capoêira de mata (second-growth littoral forest). [412] Generally the capoêira is low brush, two to five feet tall, which is easily cut with a facão--a long heavy knife which is a universal agricultural tool. Any heavy waste material that can be moved is dragged away from the plot; if there are tree stumps, they will not be grubbed out.[3] Sometimes the waste material on the surface of the field is burned, but this is by no means universal.

(2) A favored spot, either within the cleared field or in the adjoining capoêira, is prepared for a seed bed. Usually a site on the edge of a wood or near a steep slope is selected. Any available waste materials--corn stalks, old tobacco plants, weeds, brush, pieces of wood, and the like--are piled on the small plot, allowed to dry, and then burned.

249 244 221 (3) When the first rains come, the soil of both the seed bed and the fields are worked up with a hoe so that all vegetable matter is buried and all weeds turned under.

249 231 237 [417] (4) If possible the land is fertilized. Under "ideal" circumstances cattle are penned nightly over the area by means of a small temporary corral. The corral may be maintained for a long period over the seed bed, but on the field it is moved frequently so that the whole area is fertilized. Generally the resulting manure is left exposed to the sun and rain until planting time. However, this "ideal" method of fertilization is rare. A very large number of tobacco cultivators have no cattle--they are too poor and their operations are too small for livestock. Most cattle are held by fazendêiros (ranchers) who do not themselves grow tobacco. Moreover, the intensiveness of cultivation keeps the cattle population too small to provide enough manure for all local needs. Usually it is necessary to buy fertilizer. Cattle manure is sometimes purchased from a local fazendêiro. More and more, however, the tobacco cultivators are dependent upon cattle, or, better still, goat manure which is trucked into the Recôncavo from the sertão. The manure is spread over the seed bed to a depth of about one inch and over the field in such depth as the quantity allows.

249 221 (5) From mid-April to the end of May, depending upon the weather and the condition of the tobacco field, the seeds are planted. Almost without exception the seeds are taken from completely exhausted tobacco plants of the previous year, plants no longer able to produce salable leaf. The soil is broken open and loosened, and the seeds are sown directly into the fertilizer. Since the fertility of the seeds is very low, they are sown very thickly. The seed bed is fenced but is rarely covered. In sixty to seventy days the seedlings are ready for transplanting.

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221 (6) In June, as the rains increase and as the seedlings are ready, the soil in the field is again broken, and small ridges about 18 inches apart are made with a hoe. Occasionally manure is put into the hills at this stage in place of earlier fertilization. Then the young seedlings are planted in the ridges and a small quantity of water added. Ten days or two weeks later there is a replanting where the original seedings have failed.

(7) A few days later the ridges are further hilled up. Thereafter the field is kept clean with a hoe.

(8) When tips begin to form, about two months after planting--late July or early August--the plant is topped so that six to ten leaves remain.

(9) About three weeks later the whole upper stalk is harvested. Two or three shoots near the ground are then allowed to develop. These shoots are topped, and eventually their leaves are harvested. As many as eight separate harvests are made from the shoots, and often this form of harvest continues into December.

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276 (10) The harvested tobacco is tied to a long pole or rack and hung under the roof of the dwelling, beneath the eaves, or occasionally in separate thatch and adobe "barns." If the weather is damp, a fire is used to hasten drying. After they are thoroughly dried, perhaps three or four weeks, the leaves are cut down and stripped from the stalks. They are then graded, tied into bundles, and laid aside until they are sold, or if the farmer is a large producer, until a fermentation bulk is assembled. [442] The entire season's harvest is piled on the stack, and it is sold to the buyer at the end of the year.

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244 The sequence of cultivation following the harvesting of tobacco is as follows:

(1) The field is turned with a hoe--if some tobacco plants are

249 244 still producing, they are carefully left in place—and narrow, shallow trenches eighteen inches or two feet apart are dug across the field. Segments of manioc stalk, freshly cut and two to four inches long, are planted in the trenches and covered.

(2) When the manioc appears, the plants are slightly hilled, and the field is kept clean.

(3) Any time after six months, but if conditions are not too pressing after nine months, the roots are dug up with a hoe. The disposition of the manioc roots will be discussed in a later section on processing.

(4) The field is re-planted to manioc until it will no longer produce a reasonable yield—one to four years depending upon the fertility.[4]

(5) The field is abandoned to wild vegetation and used as a rough pasture, or, if land is in very short supply, it is fertilized and planted to tobacco.

There are a number of problems which lead to departures from the ideal system of cultivation discussed above:

(1) In many areas where the intensity of cultivation is extreme, no second growth is available, and it is necessary to take fields directly from the cultivation of manioc, or other crops, to the planting of tobacco. It is important to remember that by no means all the soils of the tobacco-manioc region are suitable for tobacco cultivation, even [134] in such favorable centers as Cruz das Almas or São Gonçalo. Only the lighter, sandier soils of the hill tops and upper slopes and occasionally the porous soils of the basins are used for tobacco. These tobacco soils are popularly considered to be "poor," because crops other than tobacco or manioc do not thrive upon them.[5]

[237] (2) A key problem in the main areas of tobacco-manioc cultivation

249 is fertilizer. Most of the manure is purchased with money borrowed from
244 the tobacco buyers or local merchants. The rise and fall of the produc-
237 tion, yield, and quality of tobacco in the various municipios of the Recôncavo can be explained to a considerable degree by two factors: (1) the availability of loan capital, and (2) the variation in precipitation. Probably the local supply of capital is more variable than the rainfall. Moreover, the quality of the manure available is usually poor. The manure of grass-fed cattle is a mediocre fertilizing agent, and probably the manure produced from the capoêira de caatinga upon which most cattle feed is even more inferior. Goat manure is preferred, because it is believed that it produces both a larger crop and a higher quality leaf, but it is very expensive. Because those who can afford goat manure usually are also the more efficient and careful cultivators, it is difficult to be sure whether it is superior fertilizer or better care which produces the quality leaf.

The manure which is secured from sources within the tobacco-manioc zone has almost invariably deteriorated because it has been left for long periods in the sun and rain. The more expensive fertilizer imported from the sertão is of a better quality, both because it comes from a drier zone and has thus suffered from less leaching in the corral and because it is kept in piles so that only the surface material is open to the elements.

In general every possible cruzeiro that can be begged or borrowed is spent for manure, but if none can be bought, the cultivator will haul black soil (crystalline massapê) from the bottom lands and spread it over his field. Failing that, he will plant without fertilizer in a desperate attempt to produce a crop which will enable him to eke out the following year. Even if relatively fresh soil with a good growth of capoêira is available, the cultivator can produce only a very small

249 crop of poor tobacco without the application of manure. Commercial
244 fertilizers are beyond the means of all but a very small minority of
237 cultivators. Those large growers who have experimented with commercial
fertilizers report unfavorable results, presumably because of
excessive leaching in the porous soils.

249 (3) The system of seed selection is illustrative of the general
crudity of cultivation. As indicated above, the seeds are taken from
the old and repeatedly harvested plants of the preceding season. The
only criterion for selection is survival--the seed plant continued to
produce longer than the rest of the crop. This does not mean that it
produced more leaf or better quality--indeed, the opposite is often
[654] the case. Occasionally better seeds are available from the federal or
[242] state government, but the cultivators take little interest.

(4) The practice of harvesting the entire stalk or shoot at one
time increases the variation in quality, since there are appreciable
differences in the stages of development of the leaves. Immature leaves
do not cure properly, while overripe leaves will produce only inferior
grades.

249 (5) The primitive methods of drying and fermenting further reduce
276 the quality of the leaf. Where the leaves are dried indoors over
the fire, they acquire a smoky character. Frequently the debts of the
[424] cultivator force him to sell part of his crop prematurely so that a
bulk large enough for fermentation is not assembled. On the other
hand, if a large bulk of leaf is accumulated for curing and fermentation,
there is always the risk of scorching, since thermometers are
never used to check the temperature. A common abuse, and a costly one
to the cultivator, results from delay in stringing the leaf up to dry.
If the freshly cut leaves are allowed to remain piled in the sun
before hanging, the green color is fixed. This damage cannot be

249 [276] removed by drying or by fermentation, and the leaves are very bitter.

(6) There is a constant but generally ineffective struggle against insects which damage the tobacco crop. The most serious pest is the ant, which not only cuts the leaves but which also covers whole plants with extensive mounds. A number of plant diseases are common in the Recôncavo--their general effect is to reduce quality rather than to destroy the crop. The effects of plant diseases generally are masked by the much greater damage which occurs in cultivation and processing. [136]

241 (7) The practices of land clearing, soil preparation, planting, harvesting, and curing, discussed above, are more highly standardized than is the sequence of land use. The "ideal" land use sequence is more characteristic of the zone of tobacco and manioc south of the Rio Paraguaçu--the Southwestern Recôncavo--than north of it. This land use sequence has been used as a standard of comparison because it is practiced where the highest quality of tobacco is grown and because it was the most commonly observed practice in most other parts of the tobacco-manioc region. However, even in this southwestern area, departures from the "ideal" sequence are relatively common--the introduction of corn and/or beans between tobacco and manioc is especially important. The sequence which is followed after tobacco cultivation depends not only upon the relative price of farinha de mandioca, corn, and beans, but also on the amount of fertilizer applied to the tobacco plot the previous year. Moreover, the chosen sequence will depend upon the original quality of the soil. In Cruz das Almas, at least, corn and beans were not planted in the old tobacco field unless the cultivator felt assured that the fertility was reasonably certain. If substantial risks were involved, manioc was planted.[6]

241
311 North of the Paraguaçu, modification of the "ideal" system is more frequent, especially in _municípios_ where the area in cultivation is relatively small. In Coração de Maria, for example, only 4 per cent of the area was cultivated in 1948. Here it is possible to open more "new" land upon which tall _capoêira_ has developed. Since this _município_ is remote--but more in terms of road transport than in actual distance--there is greater need to produce a high-value, low-bulk crop, such as tobacco, and less possibility for the commercial production of manioc. Many fields of tobacco are allowed to revert directly into _capoêira_. Since the land is more thoroughly fallowed and since there are fewer cattle and thus less manure, fertilization is generally less extensive in this area. A similarly modified pattern of cultivation is found in Catu and in the more remote parts of São Gonçalo.

In Santo Antônio, where the intensity of agriculture is increasing, but where the cultivated area is still relatively small, much "new" land can be used. In this _município_ the area in tobacco is [249] large in relation to manioc, and thus some tobacco fields obviously revert directly to brush.

249
244 There seems to be no definite land rotation period in the tobacco-manioc region. Rather the period is controlled by the availability of land. In 1948, the _município_ of Cruz das Almas, one of the most intensively cultivated areas of the tobacco-manioc region, had one half of its total surface in cultivation according to the official data. Approximately one-quarter of the total area was in each of the two crops. Under these circumstances, no more than two years of fallow can have intervened between the harvesting of manioc and the planting of tobacco. However, not all of the _município_ can be cultivated, and certainly no more than three-fourths of the total area can be used for tobacco. It follows that in many cases no more than

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244
one year could have intervened between manioc and tobacco. By 1953, the total cropland was obviously far below the 1948 level--probably no more than one-fourth of the land was under cultivation. Even so, the rotation period was extremely short, usually only one or two years. The cultivators are enclosed in a narrowing circle of exhausted soil, increasing cost of manure, and growing population. These are the fundamental problems of the tobacco and manioc region. All of these problems seem to be especially acute in the municipio of Cruz das Almas, but they are serious in every area where tobacco is grown.

243
244
The Cultivation of Corn and Beans. Corn and beans are usually cultivated in the Recôncavo under a land rotation system, much like the system of tobacco and manioc. The qualification "in the Recôncavo," is necessary because the modifications of the corn-bean system as it overlaps the Recôncavo from the north and west are very significant. In the sertão the areas suited to crop cultivation are more limited, primarily because of the lesser amount of precipitation. Where suitable areas are available, such as at the foot of the low mountains, cultivation tends to be permanent, particularly if the soils are relatively good and if the population is relatively dense for so droughty a zone--as in Serrinha and Inhambupe. This permanent form of agriculture is called pé do monte (foot of the mountain) and is a relatively standardized agricultural system in the sertão, as well as in the crystalline zone near the western edge of the Recôncavo, in Feira de Santana and Santo Estêvão, where corn and beans are often cultivated around the low serras. In the Tertiary zone farther east, where there are no serras, a similar system of permanent cultivation is found in the valleys. Elsewhere within the Recôncavo, corn and beans are generally cultivated under the field and fallow system,

243 either separately or in conjunction with tobacco and manioc. They are
244 frequently grown on land thought to be not suitable for tobacco culti-
[134] vation yet too good for manioc alone, such as the steeper slopes of
the crystalline area where the heavier soils do not produce good quality
tobacco.

Since the area in corn and beans is small and the amount of slope
land large, the *capoêira* is extensive and frequently quite tall. After
the slopes are cleared, the land is very often planted to mixed corn
and beans, more rarely to one or the other. The crops are planted
[221] in March or April, perhaps in May, and even in June for beans alone.
The planting season for these crops is extended both because they are
tolerant of changes in season and because as crops secondary to tobacco
they have a lesser priority. Some corn is usually planted early enough
[527] so that it will ripen in time for *São João* (mid-summer day) festival
[862] for which fresh corn-on-the-cob is the traditional food. This festival
is usually the beginning of the corn harvest, but the bean harvest
[251] begins a month later. Both crops are harvested by hand and, after
drying, are shelled by hand, sacked, and either stored or sold. When
the fertility of the soil is higher than normal or when there is labor
to spare, the field may be planted to manioc after the corn and bean
harvest.

243 As a result of the interpenetration of the corn-bean and the
244 249 tobacco-manioc systems, in many regions and on many individual proper-
311 ties the two co-exist. Usually the upland fields are in tobacco and
manioc, with an occasional plot of corn and/or beans. Usually the
slope-land plots are in corn or beans.

249 *The Cultivation of Sugar Cane*. In distinction to the crops
discussed above, sugar cane is grown under a system of permanent

249 cultivation which is monocultural and highly standardized. As has been indicated, small scale sugar cane cultivation--in house gardens--is omnipresent in the Recôncavo. The area in such garden cane, however, can scarcely be as much as one per cent of the total cropland.

249
471 Within the Central Recôncavo sugar cane is grown principally to supply a relatively small number of sugar usinas. The usinas either own and operate or rent and operate the cane plantations or have a stable relationship with those plantations from which they buy cane. Under these circumstances it is both necessary and relatively easy to standardize the methods of production and cultivation. The industrial aspects of sugar production will be discussed in the section on processing.

249 The general system of sugar cane cultivation involves a five-year sequence:

[407]
[492] (1) The land is broken with a large ox-drawn, wooden plow. The same plow opens parallel furrows, two to three feet apart, into which are laid pieces of cane stalk, cut from specially grown seed cane. The seed cane is then covered with hoes and packed with bare feet. Planting usually takes place during the last of the wet season--August and early September--to a lesser extent during the cane harvest--mid-September to mid-March--and at the end of the harvest in the autumn, if possible. Usually, however, the ground is too wet for planting during the months of May to August.

[412] (2) The cane is weeded frequently with a knife or a hoe. After a year of growth it is cut and carted away to the railroad. The leaves and upper stalk are left on the field and after drying are burned, except for some small part which is used as fodder.

(3) When the roots sprout again, the field is weeded and kept clean as the second-year cane develops; and after a year, the cane is harvested again. Generally this re-growth is repeated three times, so that there are four harvests for each planting.

249 (4) The field is burned for the last time, and as new cane or grass appears, it is used as pasture.

(5) After one year of pasture, sometimes more, the field is replanted to cane.

[527] The length of the harvest varies. It begins with a festa (festival) in the first week of September and continues as long as there is cane and as long as the heavy rains hold off--usually about six months.

249 311 Within the sugar cane area most of the land is in cane or in temporary fallow pasture except: (1) very wet bottom lands; (2) steep slopes; (3) villages; and (4) the lands and yards occupied by the mills. The general aspect of this area is that of an unbroken sea of cane. Single fields are often large--a square kilometer is not uncommon--but they are divided into separate plots. The cultivation of other crops within the sugar cane area is very limited. Small house gardens for the laborers are common, but other commercial agricultural forms of land use are rare.

249 423 257 184 Land holdings, as will be seen, generally are large under this system. The orientation of the sugar industry in São Filipe is somewhat different than in the zone discussed above. Properties are smaller, the monocultural aspect less dominant, and the whole sugar economy more primitive. There were eighty-two small sugar mills in this area in 1940, compared to the eight large usinas of Santo Amaro. [273] Many of these produced crude sugar (rapadura) rather than the refined sugar or cane brandy (cachaça) which are the main products of the zone north of the Bay.

245 The Cultivation of Coconuts. The final important agricultural system of the Recôncavo is the coconut monoculture, a less highly organized permanent culture than the sugar cane system.

231 233 small (Map 88). Within the Recôncavo, only the eastern part of the Central Recôncavo and the environs of Feira de Santana had even a moderate number of ranches. Livestock enterprises generally occupied less than one-fifth of the enumerated area (Map 89). These properties were relatively important in the Northwestern and Central Recôncavo, a reflection of the importance of ranching and cattle fattening in the northwest and of the need for work animals in the sugar cane region. In the Southwestern Recôncavo crop cultivation is too intensive and widespread to share the land with many ranches. Except in the southwest, 20 per cent of the total enumerated area was in livestock units along the limits of the Recôncavo. In relation to the total area, the extent [311] of livestock properties varied from place to place along the border zone (Map 90). Beyond the Recôncavo, ranching is more important in the crystalline areas, whether *caatinga* or *agreste*, than in the Tertiary *taboleiros*.

231 233 433 As has been pointed out, large-scale properties are especially important among the livestock production units. In most parts of the Recôncavo the ratio of the area in large-scale and in small-scale livestock units was about three to one. The analysis of the mean size of large-scale livestock units, plotted on Map 91, emphasizes the diversity within the region and discloses the tremendous size of the ranches in the coastal *agreste* northeast of the Recôncavo. Since the number of large-scale livestock units was small and the size of the units highly variable, the mean values for the areas of these properties may be deceiving. Nevertheless, it is significant that the mean size of livestock unit was large in the Central Recôncavo, where there are a number [313] [249] of *fazendas* in the forested hills around the sugar cane region. These properties are used primarily as sources of firewood for the *usinas*

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 301]

231
233 and locomotives of the cane area, but, as has been pointed out previously,
433
[313] they have supplementary livestock production.[4]
[249]

Of the 247 large-scale livestock units in the Reconcavo, 65, with
231 a total area of almost 30,000 hectares, were in the município of Feira de
233 Santana (Maps 92 and 93). Another 39, with about 16,000 hectares of
311 land, were in the Central Recôncavo. Each of these two areas has a distinctive
433 character: the Central Recôncavo fazendas de gado--cattle ranches--supply oxen and horses, asses, and mules to the sugar economy; the large fazendas of Feira de Santana, with extensive grassy pastures, serve the campo de gado--cattle market--of the cidade and thereby the whole economy of the Recôncavo.

231 Crop Cultivation Units. Almost one-half of all farms in the
241 Recôncavo produced no animals in 1940. In the marginal areas of the
311 region, excepting always the southwest, less than one-third of the farms
184 were pure crop cultivation units (Map 94). On the other hand, crop farms were particularly numerous on the southern littoral, where the forests are not salutary to livestock--except swine and fighting cocks. The Northern Recôncavo, where ranching is not an important activity, had a relatively large number of crop cultivation units, as had Salvador and the adjoining coastal município, Camassari.

241 Relative to both the enumerated and the total area, the purely
311 crop cultivation units were very important in Itaparica and Santo Amaro and unimportant around the border zone of the Recôncavo (Maps 95 and 96). On Itaparica and in the sugar cane region, crop cultivation units occupied over one-half the total land area--over 85 per cent on the island of Itaparica. The size of crop cultivation properties in the Recôncavo was generally small, but there were very great local differences
000 (Map 97). The tobacco-manioc region, especially in the Southwestern

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 306]

The tobacco-manioc region, especially in
249 the Southwestern
244 Recôncavo, was a zone of very small properties--in Cruz das Almas and
311
423 Coração de Maria the mean size of crop cultivation units was 7 hectares, while in São Filipe it was only 5 hectares. This zone of small crop cultivation units is part of a belt, parallel to but well back from the coast, which originates in the *serras* of the coffee zone, crosses the Recôncavo along the *caatinga-mata* transition, and follows the *caatinga-agreste* boundary northward along the eastern edge of the Tertiary *taboleiros*. The small-property belt thus lies between the littoral, with its large plantations of sugar cane and its ranches, and the dry *sertão*, with its extensive livestock economy.

241 The Central Recôncavo was a zone of large crop cultivation proper-
249 ties, primarily sugar cane plantations. Although there are a large
311
423 number of livestock in the sugar cane region, the plantations use, rather than produce, animals and were thus classified as crop cultivation units. The plantations of the sugar cane area are very diverse as regards size, and many of the individual properties are now operated collectively by large *usinas*. Nevertheless, there are still a number of small properties, producing cane which is sold to the large mills.

241 *Mixed Crop Cultivation-Livestock Producing Units.* A little over
231
233 one-half of all the farms in the Recôncavo produced livestock as well
311 as crops. These units occupied almost 60 per cent of the total area of all properties. However, the area in which over half the properties were mixed units was limited to a broad perimeter zone which included all the outer *municípios* of the Eastern, Northwestern, and Southwestern Recôncavo (Map 98). In Itaparica and Santo Amaro, where crop cultivation units were very important, there were relatively few mixed units.

244
249 The maps of the area in mixed units in relation to enumerated
231 area (Map 99) and total area (Map 100) confirm the observation that
233

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 311]

244 the tobacco-manioc region is an area of co-existing crop and livestock
• 249 production. The mean size of mixed units of both the tobacco-manioc
231 region and the western and northern perimeter of the Recôncavo was
233 small—20 to 40 hectares--but was significantly larger than the mean
[423] size of crop farms in the same areas (Map 101). Like the purely cane-
[311] producing plantations, the mixed units of the Central Recôncavo were relatively large.

241 Crop Cultivation and Mixed Crop Cultivation and Livestock Pro-
231 ducing Units Combined. The distribution of the area in crop and crop-
232 livestock units combined, as shown on Maps 102 and 103, reaffirms the
311 regional distinctiveness of the Recôncavo. In almost the entire region over one-half the total area was in these two types of crop-producing properties. None of the adjoining municípios had as much as 50 per cent of their total area in these two types of units, and in all but three, less than one-third the land was in crop or crop-livestock properties.

241 Regional Pattern of Agricultural Properties. The distribution
311 of the three major production units is summarized on Map 104. In each
184 of the two basic regions--crop and crop-livestock--one production
[231] type dominated, in number and in area, over the others. The Central
[233] Recôncavo with the island of Itaparica and, beyond the Recôncavo, the environs of Nazaré composed a region in which most of the agricultural land was in crop cultivation units. North of the Bay, most of these crop cultivation units were sugar cane plantations. On Itaparica there were several kinds of crop cultivation units—coconut plantations, diminutive manioc farms, and across from Salvador, small summer estates with a few cultivated fields. Around Nazaré most of the crop cultivation properties appeared to specialize in the production of manioc.

241 some properties in excess of 100,000 hectares of land. Such overwhelm-
423 ingly large properties signalize a tremendous concentration of power
and, for the sertão, much wealth.

The large properties of the Recôncavo were less extensive than
the vast fazendas of the sertão, but they probably represented an even
greater assemblage of economic and social power. The sugar cane planta-
[249] tions and the associated usinas, with their traditional prestige, large
[471] capital investment, and centralized production, are the preponderant
social institutions of the Recôncavo.

Land Tenure. Most of the formal categories of farm tenure which are characteristic of the agriculture of the United States are present also in the Recôncavo: ownership by private individuals and corporations; operation by owners, administrators, renters, and "squatters,"[5] However, the contrasts in property size and the centralized control of agricultural credit and capital in the Recôncavo give these these general types of agricultural tenure and operation a distinctive character.

241 Proprietor Operation. Most of the agricultural properties of
423 the Recôncavo were operated by the owner in 1940. Only in the Southern
472 Recôncavo--Maragogipe and Salvador--were less than half of the proper-
ties owner-operated. In most of the region and the adjoining area three-fourths of the units were operated by the owner (Map 112). The area occupied by owner-operated units was in excess of half the enumerated area in all parts of the region except the Southern Recôncavo (Map 113). However, the area in owner-operated properties was higher in the tobacco-manioc area of the Southwestern Recôncavo—70 to 80 per cent—than in either the tobacco-manioc or the sugar cane region north of the Bay. A greater contrast is reflected in the map of the mean size of owner-operated properties (Map 114). In Conceição do Almeida—

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 330]

241 423 471 and 161 hectares in Santo Amaro--while those of the Salvador area were relatively modest--81 hectares in Salvador and 72 hectares in Itaparica.

241 427 Rented Properties. There were few rented properties in the Recôncavo as a whole in 1940 (Map 117), but in three areas over 10 per cent of the properties were rented: in the core of the tobacco-manioc area of the Southwestern Recôncavo; in Irará; and around Salvador. In Maragogipe, 52 per cent of the properties, occupying 15 per cent of the enumerated area, were rented (Map 118). In Santo Antônio, adjoining the Southwestern Recôncavo, over 30 per cent of the properties were rented, but along the western and norther border zones of the Recôncavo there were very few rented properties. Because of the small size of the units, rented properties in the Recôncavo generally occupied less than 10 per cent of the enumerated area.

[241] [249] The rented properties of the tobacco-manioc crop region were usually small, from 10 to 30 hectares, but in the sugar cane area they averaged over 200 hectares (Map 119). If the official data are correct, the mean size of rented properties in Coração de Maria was over 267 hectares, but this seems very unlikely and has not been shown on the map.

241 423 471 Corporate Lands. In 1940, one-hundred ninety-eight of the 29,000 agricultural properties of the Recôncavo were owned by corporations or companies. The total area of these properties was 33,000 hectares, almost 4 per cent of the total enumerated area of the region. Moreover, the land which composed these properties was some of the most productive in the Recôncavo. The number of corporate properties and the concentration of land under corporate ownership almost certainly has increased since 1940.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 337]

241 Although there were a few corporate lands in the vicinity of the
423
471 city of Salvador in 1940, the main concentration was in the sugar cane
[249] area north of the Bay. Here the large corporately-owned *usinas* controlled as much as 30 per cent of the agricultural land. Most of these corporate properties were sugar cane plantations, but some were cattle ranches and other accessory properties. The corporations tend to dominate the sugar cane areas which are most productive and most favorably located for the transportation of cane and of the refined sugar and other products.

Conclusion. The strong network of interpersonal relationships, discussed in connection with crop cultivation and systems, is often more important than the purely formal aspects of land ownership and operation in the Recôncavo. The agricultural society of the Recôncavo is closely knit, so that the effective freedom of operation of the farm operator
[565] is very limited. Although the large and rich landowners have, on some levels, a greater latitude than the small operators, they too are enmeshed in a system of inherited economic and social obligations and are subject to the restrictions imposed by the urban upper class.

241 The two primary local supervisory groups in the agricultural
441
442 society are the merchant-buyers of the tobacco-manioc region and the
472 general administrators and plantation owners of the sugar cane region.
[656] However, both these groups are under the more or less immediate control of the sugar and tobacco companies in Salvador and of the official *Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool* and the *Instituto Baiano do Fumo*.[7]

249 The operations of the sugar cane plantations are dictated by the
471 mills, which specify the type and quantity of cane and the schedule of
472
656 delivery. In turn, the amount of sugar produced by the mill is determined by the *Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool*, while the policy of

BB
249 operation is determined by the company officers, who generally live in
471 Salvador. The company, in its turn, is subject to some control from
472 [656] Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo investors. This structured system of control probably is one of the reasons for the continuation of the monoculture in the sugar cane area. The usual explanation offered for the cane monoculture is the unique suitability of the soil and climate and the innate conservatism of the Baiano. However, one of the features of the present sugar economy is the lack of capital for other enterprises. The absentee owners, who are the only likely source of capital, are hesitant to advance money for new and untried enterprises. Moreover, alternative agricultural enterprises, if successful, would reduce the supply of cane and thus eventually raise the cost of usina operation.

BB In the tobacco-manioc region the control exercised by Salvador
249 244 is indirect, but compelling, because the small tobacco producer is almost
442 completely at the mercy of the buyer, who receives orders from the tobacco exporter and manufacturer through the agent.

BB The differences in production specialization, size, and tenure
241 423 among the agricultural properties of the Recôncavo both accentuate
471 [184] the basic dichotomy of the region and re-emphasize its unity. The
[231] small-scale mixed crop cultivation and livestock producing unit of the
[233] tobacco-manioc region and the large-scale crop cultivation unit of the sugar region are both esentially engaged in the production of commercial crops. Both are distinct from the primary agricultural unit of the sertão, the livestock ranch. Both are subject to the over-all economic control of the center—Salvador.

B
BB In most parts of Brazil, as in the Recôncavo, the agricultural
241 423 properties are highly diverse in size, function, and ownership. Most
184 areas of sugar cane cultivation have relatively large properties,
[249] primarily engaged in crop cultivation. In other areas, as in

B In other areas, as in
BB the Recôncavo, more and more of the cane plantations are passing into
249
471 the hands of the central mills and are being operated by administrators.
423 Small properties, owner or renter operated, are also a widespread
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feature of the Brazilian agricultural scene. Frequently, as in the
B
BB Recôncavo, large and small properties are intermixed in zones where
241
231 several crops and livestock are raised jointly. Throughout Brazil the
233
423 class of small property holders is tied to the merchant and large land-
B holder class by a network of economic and social relationships much like
241
423 those of the Recôncavo. Apparently the number and total area of small
471 properties is growing, especially in Central and South Brazil. If this
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be so, the development of small farms in the Recôncavo, such as those
producing tobacco and manioc, is part of the nationwide trend.

BB 245 433 439 come to be the area of the greatest value of agricultural production in the state—Cr.$1,007,824,000, in 1948, almost three times the value of B BB 231 233 433 crop and livestock production in the Recôncavo, Cr.$335,000,000. The total value of livestock production in the Recôncavo is estimated to be about Cr.$60,000,000 for 1948. Although no comparable figure is available for Brazil, probably the Recôncavo had less then 1 per cent of the livestock and thus produced less than 1 per cent of the value of livestock in the nation as a whole.[1]

B BB 433 The present inferior position of the Recôncavo is in part a reflection of the relative decline of the region in the nineteenth century discussed in the chapter on the evolution of the Recôncavo. However, the Recôncavo continues to lag behind in the contemporary development B BB 241 • 249 433 [458] [650] of Brazil. From 1944 to 1952 the total cruzeiro value of the principal crops of Brazil increased four-fold, while the value of Bahia's tobacco crop, a good indicator of the economic shifts of the Recôncavo, increased by only one-fifth despite the concurrent inflationary spiral. Even the government-stabilized sugar industry of the Recôncavo produced only three and one-half times its 1944 value. Although the above increases are more indicative of the steadily declining value of Brazilian currency than of true economic development, they are an index of the relative importance of agriculture in the Recôncavo to the national economy.

BB 249 244 433 311 Tobacco, sugar cane, and manioc, which occupied 70 per cent of the Recôncavo's cropland, accounted for 77 per cent of the total value of all principal crops in 1948 (Table XVI). Each of the three crops contributed at least 20 per cent of the value of all crops, while no other crop produced over 6 per cent of the total. The cruzeiro value of these principal crops, and of livestock, and their relative position within the nation has been given in Table IV, above.

TABLE XVI

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RELATIVE CROPLAND AND VALUE OF ALL CROPS OF THE RECÔNCAVO WITH A VALUE OF MORE THAN Cr.$1,000,000 IN 1948

Crop	Per cent of the Cropland of the Recôncavo	Per cent of the Value of All Principal Crops of the Recôncavo
Tobacco	27	32
Manioc	28	25
Sugar Cane	15	20
Beans	9	6
Oranges	1	5
Bananas	1	3
Corn	12	3
Coconuts	1	2
Coffee	4	1
Pineapple	<1	<1
Peanuts	<1	<1
Sweet Potatoes	<1	<1

Source: Calculations and estimates based on data from Produção Agrícola: 1948.

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433
[311]
[435]

The leading position of tobacco results in part from its extensive cultivation, and in part from its relatively high unit value. While the mean value of production of all crops in the Recôncavo was Cr.$3,400 per hectare in 1948, tobacco produced Cr.$3,900 per hectare, as given in Table XVII, which also shows the value of production per hectare of the other principal crops. The leading position of tobacco is at variance with tradition which, as has been seen, assigns the first rank to sugar cane. Not only was tobacco the most valuable crop of the Recôncavo in 1948, but it was also the leading crop in seven municípios of the tobacco-manioc region, where it accounted for a minimum of 40 per cent of the value of all crops. Within four separate municípios of the crop region, it accounted for about 60 per cent of the total value of crops (Map 120). The Southwestern Recôncavo was the chief center of the production of tobacco, as indicated by value as well as by cropland and bulk, for it produced over 63 per cent of the total value of tobacco in the Recôncavo. Within this section, Cruz das Almas was the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 347]

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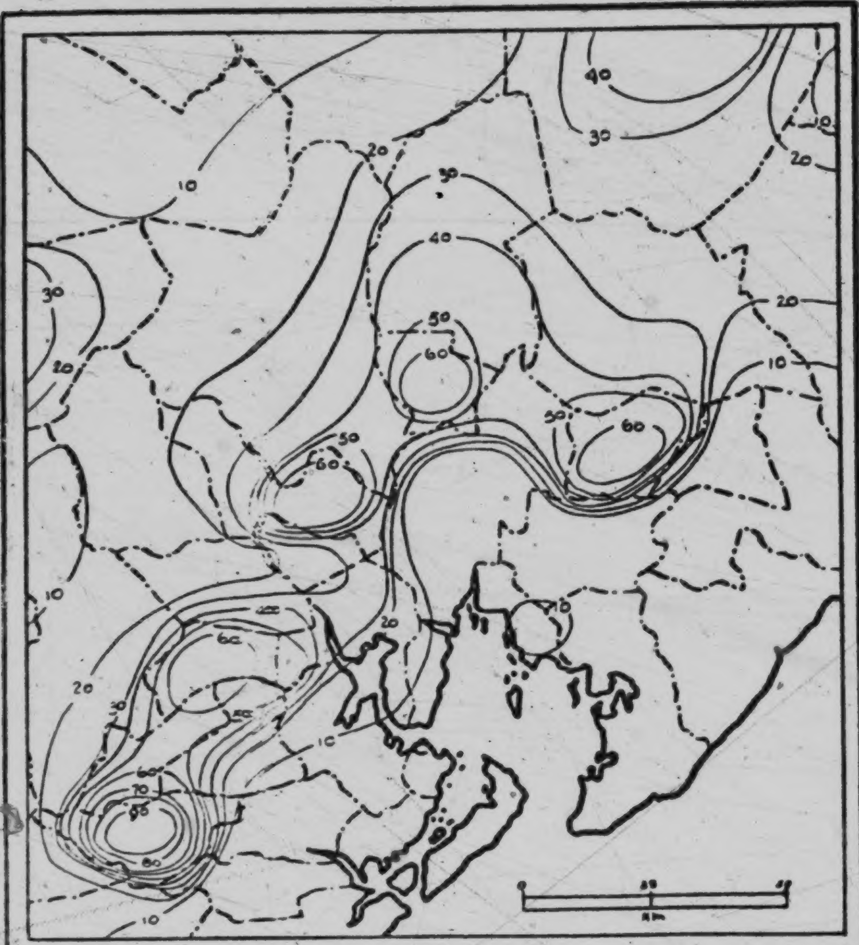
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RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Tobacco--1948

MAP 120

TABLE XVII

MEAN VALUE OF PRODUCTION PER HECTARE FOR THE CROPS OF THE RECONCAVO IN 1948

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433
435

Crops	Value of Production Cr.$1,000 per ha.
Principal Crops*	
Tobacco	3,900
Manioc	3,100
Sugar Cane	4,600
Beans	2,200
Oranges**	13,300
Bananas**	8,600
Corn	800
Coconuts**	7,400
Coffee**	1,400
Pineapple	1,000
Peanuts	2,400
Sweet Potatoes	3,500
All Crops	3,400

*Crops with a value in excess of Cr.$1,000,000.

**There is little consistent relationship between the area and production of these crops, so that local values for these crops often depart widely from the mean.

Source: Calculations and estimations based upon Produção Agrícola: 1948.

249 433 leading producer--40 per cent of the total value of the tobacco crop. Notwithstanding the dominant role of the Southwestern area, tobacco production north of the Rio Paraguaçu was also significant—contributing 24 per cent of the total value of the crop.

As has been indicated, several grades of tobacco are produced in the Recôncavo. The superiority of the tobacco production of the Southwestern Recôncavo is more than a matter of hectares of cultivation or kilograms of leaf. The area is the core of the "Mata Fina" zone, within which the leaf of Cruz das Almas is assigned the highest price. [439] The "Mata Fina" leaf is the basis of the export of cigar tobacco to European markets. In its concern with cacao, the most valuable export, [245] [439] Bahia tends to forget the important role which tobacco plays in its economy, and with this, so the people of the zone sometimes feel, to

249 433 neglect the critical tobacco producing areas. It seems to be true that
[245] the chief recipients of political and economic attention have been the
[439] traditionally important sugar cane area, and more recently the cacao
[491] zone. The people of the tobacco area complain particularly about the
lack of roads.

244 433 Not only is manioc the basic source of subsistence for the Recôncavo, it is also the second crop in value of production. Its cultivation, as has been seen, is closely associated with the production of tobacco, so that the Southwestern Recôncavo, which produced 63 per cent of the tobacco crop, also contributed a very large part--48 per cent--of the total value of manioc (Map 121). However, manioc is important in its own right, as well as in its relationship to tobacco. No data are available to indicate the importance of manioc as a surplus product which is sold beyond the borders of the município in which it is grown. A rough estimate can be made by assuming that the per capita consumption of manioc is 400 kilograms per year--this is the mean consumption for the state of Bahia. Using this figure in conjunction with the population data, it is possible to estimate that in 1948 about 30,000 tons of surplus manioc was produced in the Recôncavo. Ninety per cent of this surplus was produced in the municípios of the Southwestern Recôncavo.
[489] It is significant that many of the trucks passing from the Southwestern
[494] Recôncavo to Feira de Santana and Salvador are piled high with bags
of farinha de mandioca. The total value of commercial manioc would be about Cr.$6,500,000, so that on this basis manioc is the fourth or fifth most valuable commercial crop of the Recôncavo. Using the above method of determination, it was found that several municípios adjoining the region also produced surpluses of manioc. The most notable of these were the four municípios adjacent to the Southwestern Recôncavo--Nazaré, São Miguel, Santo Antônio, and Castro Alves--which produced a

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 350]

244 433 [438] 10,000-ton surplus. The surplus manioc of these municípios would appear to be marketed to the manioc-deficit areas of the Recôncavo, particularly [249] the sugar cane area and Salvador. It is significant that those municípios which were the leading producers of tobacco were also the leading producers of commercial manioc (Map 123). Although the exchange and processing of tobacco in these areas is well organized and receives some attention from government bureaus, the growing and processing of manioc remains an unrecognized enterprise.

249 244 433 The importance of the production of tobacco and of commercial manioc to the various municípios of the Southwestern Recôncavo is shown in the following summary:

Município	Per cent of Total Value of Production Tobacco	Manioc
Cruz das Almas	65	23
Conceição de Almeida	57	38
São Filipe	25	32
Muritiba	17	14
São Félix	54	-

One of the advantages of the relative balance of these two products is that in the event of a crop failure of one, the area would still have a salable commercial product. Moreover, since the production of manioc is relatively large, a moderate decrease in its yield would still leave this area with at least a minimum supply of food for its large agricultural population.

249 257 433 [654] Sugar cane is now the third crop in value in the Recôncavo, but it is maintained in that position only by government subsidy. It is a crop which either dominates the region in which it is produced or its cultivation is economically unimportant (Map 124). In part this is the result of the technological requirements of the sugar industry, which demand that large quantities of sugar cane be produced close to the mill so that the cane can be delivered quickly once it is cut. However,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 354]

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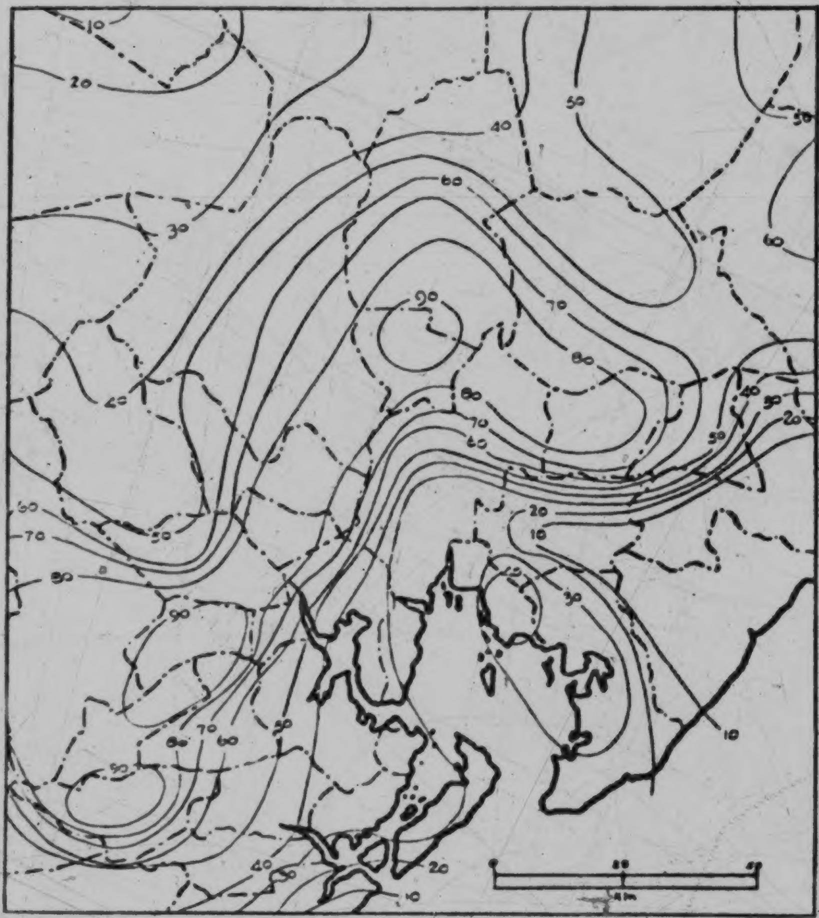
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RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Tobacco and Manioc—1948

MAP 122

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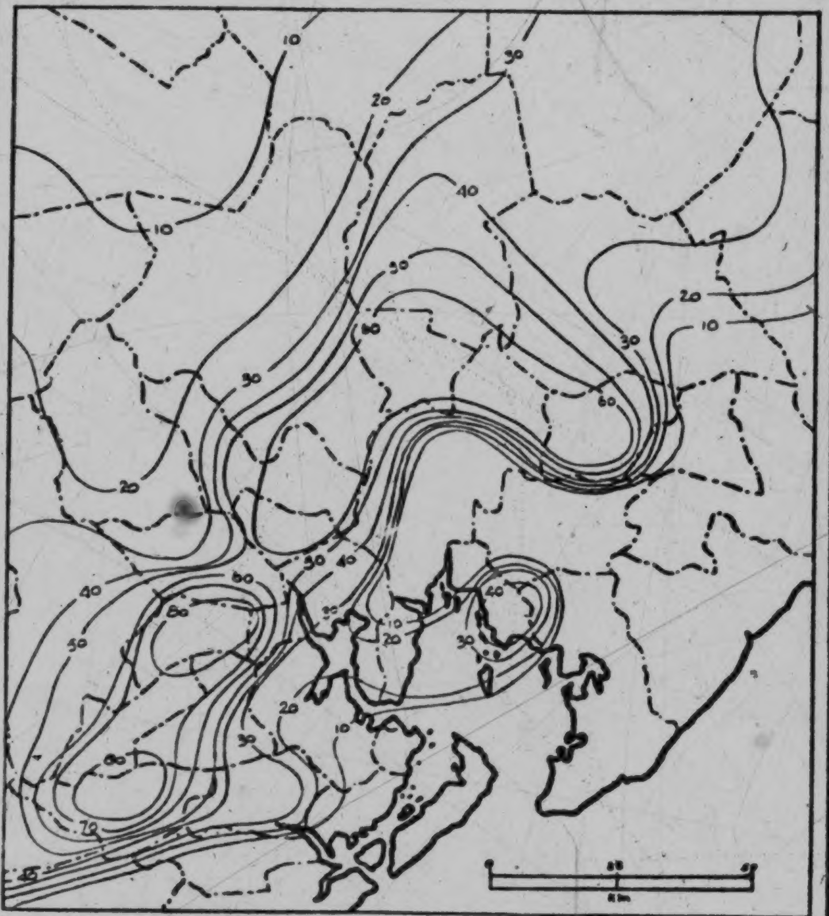
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RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Tobacco and Commercial Manioc—1948

(Estimated)

MAP 123

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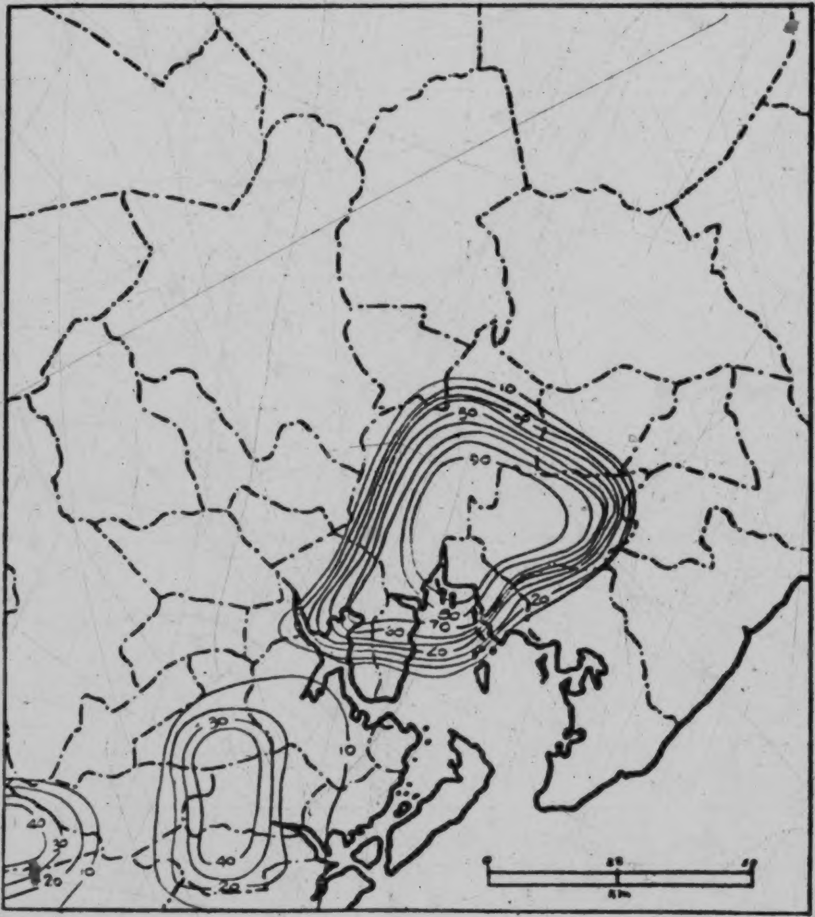
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RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Per cent of the Total Value of Crop Production

Contributed by Sugar Cane--1948

MAP 124

249 257 433 the large landholders and agricultural capitalists of Brazil have a strong historical bias toward monocultural systems.

249 433 471 As would be expected, the Central Recôncavo accounted for almost 90 per cent of the total value of sugar cane in the region. Sugar production in this area is dominated by the big _usinas_, and most of the cane is produced on very large properties, as has been seen.

243 244 433 438 Although corn and beans primarily are subsistence crops, they have, like manioc, some commercial importance (Map 125). The corn and bean areas within the Recôncavo do not produce outstanding surpluses, although these two crops are important commercial products in nearby Serrinha and Conceição do Coite. Most of the corn and beans of the Recôncavo are exchanged for _farinha de mandioca_, which provides the cultivator with a cheaper food.

244 245 433 438 The remaining crops of the region are of minor commercial importance, or are more valuable commercial crops of highly localized production. Bananas, peanuts, and sweet potatoes are minor commercial crops of diffuse production, since most of their cultivation is for subsistence purposes. Oranges, coconut, coffee, and pineapple are important but secondary commercial products whose production is concentrated in a few restricted areas (see, for example, Map 126 of coconut production).

249 244 245 433 438 The importance of the principal commercial crops--tobacco, sugar cane, coffee, coconut, oranges, pineapple, a few minor crops, and commercial manioc--varies widely from _município_ to _município_ (Map 127). However, two areas--the Central Recôncavo and the Southwestern Recôncavo--had highly commercial economies in which over 90 per cent of the total value of production was in commercial crops. In the tobacco-manioc area north of the Rio Paraguaçu, only one-half to three-quarters of
000 the total value of production was in commercial crops. Except in the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 358]

442 443 233 *campo de gado* draws *vaquéiros* (cowboys) and ranchers from the *sertão* as well as agriculturalists and buyers from the Recôncavo, the nearby municipal market has a tributary area which is much larger than the *município*, indeed, much larger than the Recôncavo. The *sertão* and the Recôncavo exchange goods on a large scale in these markets. From the *sertão* come cattle and other animals, hides and skins, various extractive products, such as waxes, and the *fumo em corda* tobacco of the interior of northern Bahia. From the Recôncavo come food, especially bananas, coconuts, and sugar, and various manufactured articles which have been brought from South-Central Brazil via Salvador. Adjoining the *campo de gado* is an open lot where horses, mules, and all the accoutrements of the *vaquéiro*--bridles, saddles, and leather clothing--can be purchased.

249 471 438 A good deal of the sugar cane which is cultivated in the Recôncavo is grown by the *usinas* on their own properties. In other cases the cane plantations and processing plant are owned by different members of the same family, and the whole enterprise is operated on a profit-sharing basis. It cannot be said of either of these arrangements, which account for most of the cane harvested in the Recôncavo, that there is a genuine market situation. A truer market relationship exists for the few remaining *fornecedores* (suppliers) who grow cane and sell it to the *usinas*. Very commonly, however, these "independent" cane producers are indebted to the sugar company in both the economic and social sense. Moreover, the *fornecedore* is very much at the mercy of the company because of the lack of alternative markets and the difficulties of transportation. The cane which is purchased by the *usinas* on a contract basis must have a specified quality and must be delivered to the *usina* at its convenience by the supplier. It is likely that the mounting debts of many *fornecedores* will soon force them to sell

249 471 438 [171] their properties to the expanding usinas. This same process is taking place in most sugar areas of Brazil.

249 442 438 452 455 The marketing of tobacco centers on one key figure--the agent. With the resources of the tobacco company he extends direct credit to the larger tobacco producers and indirect credit to the small producers via his buyer, who is generally a local shopkeeper. The company grants a specified sum of money to each agent at the beginning of the season, and he disburses this at his own discretion. Bad debts are charged against the company rather than the agent. Most of the tobacco crop is pledged to the buyers in advance, by meahs of a formal contract or an informal agreement which specifies the price, quantity, and quality of the leaf to be delivered. Most of these contracts are entered into in order to secure credit; there are few agriculturalists who could produce tobacco without first receiving credit. There is much opportunity for speculation within the framework of this marketing system. Those buyers who are shopkeepers have in stock the supplies which the cultivator needs. The shopkeeper delivers the goods needed by the cultivator and retains the money which has been advanced by the agent. Since most of the stock of the buyer--storekeeper--has been purchased on credit, he may accumulate a considerable sum in cash or bills of exchange. Speculation is an acknowledged feature of the marketing of tobacco in Bahia, and in many cases the buyer uses the credit advanced by the agent for speculation in the tobacco crop. He does this by extending credit against the tobacco crop of cultivators who are not included in the normal relationships with the agent. Sometimes these debtors are unable to liquidate their debt, and the buyer is caught short. In this event he can use his position as the agent's representative and as a local economic power to recoup, at least partially, by forcing the price upward or through the substitution of cheaper leaf

249 in meeting his contract with the agent. The result of this and other
442
438 speculative practices is that the price of tobacco tends to spiral upwards
452 throughout the season.

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The crop is delivered to the buyer in small lots--10 to 15 kilo-
249 grams--which are assembled, graded, and baled. The bales are taken to
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438 the warehouse of the agent where they are added to other bales to form
442 a large pile in which fermentation can take place. After fermentation the bales are broken, and the leaf is re-sorted. With the better grades the sorting is done very carefully, and a large number of size and texture grades are separated. Intermediate grades are sorted less carefully, often by bundles rather than by individual leaves. The poorest grades are stripped without grading. After sorting or stripping, the leaf is again placed in bales and kept in the warehouse until transport can be arranged to deliver the tobacco to Salvador or to the cigar factories.

249 Most of the tobacco produced in the Recôncavo is exported. In the
433
439 years 1946 to 1950, inclusive, 166,676 tons of leaf tobacco were produced in Bahia and 128,567 tons were exported, so that about 75 per cent of the total crop of the state was exported.[2] However, the exported leaf is made up of the choice tobaccos, that is "*Mata Fina*," which are largely grown in the Recôncavo. It may be concluded from this that at least four-fifths of the tobacco crop of the Recôncavo was exported during this years. Tobacco exported from the Recôncavo normally composes 70 per cent of all the tobacco exported from Brazil. In value, the tobacco exported from the Recôncavo was less than 1 per cent of the total exports of all products from Brazil.[3]

482 Transportation. The backs of men and of animals are the basic
492
489 transportation media in the Recôncavo: almost all goods begin and end

493 Salvador and Feira de Santana, via Santo Amaro and São Gonçalo. The
497 Leste also has a special train of relatively modern type which runs
from Salvador to Aracaju in Sergipe. As soon as electric power from
the newly constructed dam at Paulo Alfonso on the Rio São Francisco
is available, the Leste expects to electrify the line from Salvador
through Alagoinhas. One of the most critical shortcomings of both lines
is the very poor condition of the roadbed, so that derailments are
relatively frequent.

497 Railroad fares are extremely cheap by the standards of the United States, so that for one or two dollars it is possible to travel all the way across the Recôncavo. Although there are many agriculturalists who cannot afford even these fares, rail transportation is within the means of merchants and buyers of the "service segment" of the agricultural population. Freight rates are higher but generally not excessive. However, there are many irregularties in the assessment of freight charges, and service is very slow.

The passenger operations of the Leste give relatively good ser-
vice to the Central and Northwestern Recôncavo. In other parts of the
Recôncavo the desultory passenger service of the Leste is little used.
[494] It is difficult to estimate the exact relative importance of railroads
vis à vis trucks as freight carriers, but there is every indication
that trucks carry most of the agricultural goods which are transported
for long distances over the land. However, the railroads, which are
249 government owned, operate without regard to profit or loss. The main
497 and branch lines of the Leste play an important role in the sugar in-
dustry of Santo Amaro and western São Sebastião. The government tracks
and the tracks of a number of private lines joined to them are used
to haul cane from the plantations to the large usinas. The cane, which
is delivered to the railroad line in ox carts, is hauled to the usina

249 497 on trains owned by the sugar company. In addition, much of the sugar, rum, and alcohol which is manufactured by the big usinas is transported to Salvador over the lines of the Leste.

493 491 As has been suggested, automotive transport has come to have great importance in the Recôncavo, despite the lack of good roads, the high cost of vehicles and fuel, and the competition of both boats and trains. No 491 município in the region can be said to have a road network, and usually only the cidades and in a few cases large villas are connected with other parts of the region. The principal road of the region is a dirt highway which connects Salvador with Feira de Santana. Feira is an important transportation center for the Northeast of Brazil, for it is the southern terminus of the Nordestina, the trunk highway which crosses the Sertão. The Nordestina joins the main road to Rio de Janeiro and the road to Salvador at Feira de Santana. A branch from the Salvador-Feira road turns southward and, passing through Cachoeira, São Félix, and Cruz das Almas, connects westward to Castro Alves and southward to the cacao zone. There is also a road from Salvador to Alagoinhas and other cities of the Tertiary zone farther north. A few lesser roads feed into these three main highways--the most important of these is the connection between Santo Amaro and the Feira to Salvador road.

All of the main highways are two-lane dirt roads which are almost always passable but which are extremely rough and are dusty in dry 491 weather and slippery when wet. The quality of the roads is probably 484 best illustrated by the time required to journey across the Recôncavo. The road distance from Salvador to Cruz das Almas is about 125 miles; the time required for a non-stop trip is 6 to 7 hours. It should be added that despite the poor road conditions, traffic moves very fast, and there are many accidents. To a very limited extent it is possible

491 484 for vehicles to pass from the main highways over the broader trails to the nearby villages in good weather. However, this is rarely attempted except by jeep, and by these only infrequently.

249 499 Until the last few years a number of the large usinas in the main sugar cane area have not been connected with the highways. Since jeeps and trucks have become more numerous in the Recôncavo, a number of the big usinas in Santo Amaro are constructing their own outlets to the highway. 315 655 491 499 In recent years the government-owned oil company has been drilling exploratory wells in the cane fields of São Francisco. In conjunction with this enterprise, new roads have been built, and for the first time many plantations of this area have road connections to the highway system.

494 493 Most of the traffic on the roads of the Recôncavo consists of trucks and busses--private automobiles generally are found only in the urban areas, since cars are very expensive in Brazil, and the highways are very destructive. A large number of busses connect the outer Recôncavo with Salvador. The best passenger service, and the most expensive, is provided by a major bus line which has a daily run from Salvador to Feira de Santana and back. While this bus line employs large busses, most of the other busses used in the Recôncavo are small. These latter provide connections between the Southwestern Recôncavo and Salvador, and supplement the major Feira de Santana-Salvador service. The runs of many of these smaller busses originate outside the Recôncavo, but they collect and discharge passengers at each cidade. Fares are cheap, considering the cost of vehicles and fuel, but still somewhat more expensive than train travel.

Truck traffic is very heavy on the main highways, especially from Feira de Santana to Salvador. Probably most of the agricultural

505 abuse by the sea and by man. While some of these boats are used for
[226] fishing in the Bay and in the ocean, their most important function
undoubtedly is bringing food from the areas around the Bay to the city
of Salvador. On the return trip, they carry building materials,
[249] manufactured articles, and passengers. The usinas of the coastal
[257] sections of the sugar cane area use these vessels to transport cane
to the mill and to deliver the products of the mill to Salvador. Several of the cities on the Bay are very much dependent upon this means
of transport, especially São Francisco and Maragogipe, which for all
practical purposes have no road connections.

Motor boats serve to connect Salvador and the island of Itaparica. All of the tidewater cidades of the Bay and, in addition, São Roque do Paraguaçu and Nazaré are connected with the city of Salvador by scheduled motor vessels which carry many passengers and small quantities of freight. These vessels ascend and descend the estuaries with the tide. The head of navigation on the Rio Paraguaçu is Cachoeira, and on the Rio Sergi is at a landing on the outskirts of Santo Amaro.

489 These various transport media provide for the movement of people
241 and goods across the Recôncavo. They are generally able to meet the
433 immediate demands of the agricultural economy without excessive delays.
The available media of transport are used to the fullest extent;
busses, trains, and motor vessels are always crowded, and the trucks
are always busy. However, the poor roads, the archaic railroads, the
taxes on the movement of goods, and the high cost of vehicles clearly
set a limit to the expansion or the intensification of the agricultural
system. The rationalization of agriculture in the Recôncavo would
require considerable expansion and improvement of the system of
transportation.

249 *Processing of Agricultural Products.* Each of the three principal
252 crops of the Recôncavo require processing before it can be consumed.
276 Sugar cane and manioc are highly perishable, and both are processed in
their entirety within the region. Tobacco, once it is fermented, can
be stored for longer periods, so that there is no necessity for immediate
processing within the Recôncavo. Sugar cane is processed in large *usinas*
and to a lesser extent in *engenhos* (primitive sugar mills). Tobacco
[277] products are fabricated in small-scale home industries and in factories.
Manioc is converted into *farinha de mandioca* in very small mills.

249 The cultivation, transportation, and processing of sugar cane
489 require an integrated system in which there is some form of centralized
471 administration. The larger *usinas* own and operate most of the surrounding
cane plantations and the associated transportation system, and
administration is direct. Where cane is purchased from furnishers--
privately-owned plantations--the mill specifies the type of cane
which it will buy and the schedule of delivery. Most of the sugar
cane in the Recôncavo is processed by *usinas*, which produce sugar,
rum, and alcohol. However, there are a number of *engenhos* and a few
smaller *usinas* which specialize in the production of rum or crude
sugar. The *engenhos* are most important around the margins of the main
sugar cane area north of the Bay and in Cachoeira and São Félix, but
the *usinas* dominate the core area of cane production in Santo Amaro,
São Francisco, and São Sebastião. Within the core area the big *usinas*
generally are located near but not on the main railroads, although a
few are situated near the shore of the Bay.

249 The harvested sugar cane generally is delivered to smaller mills
492 by the grower, usually on ox carts. The larger mills receive their
249 cane via the railroad or the Bay. In these cases the cane is trans-
499
505 ported by ox cart from the cane fields to a weighing station, from

249 which it is hauled by railroad or boat to the mill, although sometimes
497 505 the cane which is carried by boat is weighed at the mill. The rail-
496 roads which handle the cane, as has been indicated, are owned and
471 operated by the usinas, except that the government right-of-way is
249 used whenever these tracks pass close to the plantations. One of the
usinas is new and a few of the older mills have some new equipment,
but the general level of technology is considerably below that of
Pernambuco or São Paulo, and the mills are somewhat smaller. The usinas
grind the cane, extract the juices, and refine the sugar by means of
vacuum pans and centrifuges. The more modern usinas produce a high
quality sugar, but in general the product is coarse and not a pure white.
274 The by-products of the large usinas and part or all of the cane juice
385 of some of the usinas and engenhos is converted into rum or commercial
262 alcohol. The sugar, rum, and alcohol from the sugar industry of the
273 438 Recôncavo are consumed primarily within the Recôncavo and the adjoining
439 regions of Bahia. About one-tenth of the production of sugar is
382 exported, chiefly to Rio de Janeiro. The commercial alcohol usually
385 is mixed with gasoline in the bulk plants in Salvador to provide fuel
654 for automotive transport. By law a specified amount of commercial
alcohol must be mixed with gasoline--this is designed to subsidize
the sugar industry.

249 There are twenty usinas in the Recôncavo, and these produced
471 433 an estimated 80 per cent of the total sugar of the state of Bahia in
1948. The three largest of these are owned by a single sugar company,
which also owns the associated plantations, transportation equipment,
and cattle fazendas. This company plays an important role in the
249 marketing of sugar from its own usinas and from other companies. The
471 concentration of the cultivation of sugar cane and of the production
178 of sugar in the hands of this single enterprise is a symptom of the

249 471 178 decline of the old system of independent plantations and small usinas and the rise of agricultural capitalism in the Recôncavo as in Brazil's other sugar areas. With greater capital resources, drawn from Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo, the large companies are slowly buying up the fazendas of the core area of sugar cane production and are closing out the small mills.

249 471 489 The typical usina involves a large-scale organization of land, transportation, processing, and labor by means of an administrative hierarchy. Timing is one of the critical aspects in converting cane to a finished product, for the harvesting of the cane and the operation of the mill must be closely coordinated. A basic factor in this coordination is the weather, which governs the quality of the cane, the transportation of the harvest, and thus the operation of the mill. [492] [493] In dry weather the sugar content of the cane is high, and the ox carts move easily through the fields. In wet weather the harvesting bogs down, and the operation of the mill comes to a standstill. Since the fixed costs of the mill and the plantations are very great, delays in harvest are costly to the industry. 249 464 Another important administrative problem for the industry is labor. The sugar economy depends upon itinerant seasonal labor and upon the declining local agricultural population. Occasionally the operation of the mill is delayed because of labor shortages. It is sometimes necessary to shift labor from the fields to the mill or vice versa or from one plantation to another and to balance the cost of maintaining a labor reserve, if available, against the losses incurred when the operation of the mill is curtailed. 249 471 The scope of operation of the usina may be illustrated by a list of the major physical equipment of one of the large usinas in Santo Amaro:

249 471 Land:

9,000 hectares in 19 plantations and ranches; each of the 15 cane plantations has a small settlement, livestock, and a weighing station.

Transportation Equipment:

25 kilometers of railway, 9 locomotives, over 100 railway cars, 4 trucks, 2 jeeps, and for each cane plantation an average of 10 ox carts.

Agricultural Machinery:

9 tracked tractors with accessory plows and grading equipment, 1 wheeled tractor, and on each cane plantation 4 or 5 ox-drawn plows.

Housing:

About 50 houses and miscellaneous service buildings for each cane plantation.

Processing Plant:

Grinding and extracting plant, distillery, power house, 2 warehouses, garage, railroad shop, and medical dispensary.

Miscellaneous:

Office building, houses for company manager and administrator, school for the mill settlement, and church.

249 The operation of such a large enterprise as this requires a large administrative staff. The administrative staff of the particular *usina* described above includes the following: a general manager for all properties; an administrator over all the plantations; an administrator in charge of the mill; a sub-administrator over each group of four or five plantations; and an overseer and several foremen for each plantation. There are also a number of supervisors in the mill and on the 249 466 railroad. In addition, the *usina* pays the salary of the teachers in the local school, engages the priest for the irregular services which are held in the church of the *usina* establishment, and in conjunction [178] with several other nearby *usinas*, employs a doctor. These activities reflect the desire of the sugar company to stabilize labor relations through social services, but on a more impersonal basis than was characteristic of the feudalistic sugar system of the nineteenth century.

258 Manioc can be converted into a staple food which is easy to transport and store by simple processes and small-scale enterprices.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

128 In the preceding chapters the results of a statistical appraisal and a field investigation of agriculture in the Recôncavo have been presented. As a conclusion it seems appropriate to: (1) summarize the findings; and (2) discuss the potentialities of the Recôncavo for agricultural development

433 Like most of the densely-settled east coast of Brazil, the
241 Recôncavo is engaged primarily in the production of crops. This is true
not only of the region as a whole, but also of each of its individual
parts excepting only the area around the cattle market town of Feira de
241 Santana. The total cultivated area of the region, about 6.4 per cent
311 of the land surface, was almost evenly divided in 1948 between purely
commercial crops--tobacco, sugar cane, coffee, oranges, and coconuts--
and subsistence-commercial crops--manioc, corn, beans, bananas, peanuts,
and sweet potatoes. About 70 per cent of the cropland was used for the
three predominant crops--manioc, tobacco, and sugar cane. Livestock pro-
231 duction is associated with crop cultivation in many parts of the
233
241 Recôncavo, but the region is also dependent upon the *sertão* of Bahia
for livestock, which are driven into Feira de Santana and are used in
several different areas within the region.

249 The three principal crops as determined by cultivated area--
244 tobacco, manioc, and sugar cane--accounted for 77 per cent of the total
433
value of crops in 1948, and no other crop accounted for more than
[231] 6 per cent of the total value. Thus agriculture in the Recôncavo is
[233] primarily concerned with these three crops and with the production

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244
433 of livestock, which had a value greater than sugar cane but less than
[231] manioc.
[233]

Agricultural activities within the Recôncavo are localized in several distinct sub-regions, each with a specialized system of cultivation and each with either one or two principal crops. The primary agricultural subdivisions of the region are: (1) the sugar cane monocultural sub-region; and (2) the tobacco-manioc sub-region.

249 Sugar cane is grown as the exclusive crop in its major area of
production--the pocket of coastal plain north of the Baía de Todos os
Santos. Cane is generally cultivated under a four-year monoculture and
one-year fallow system on large properties employing large quantities
of hand labor and using oxen to draw plows and carts. Neither fertilizer
[407] nor agricultural machinery is used to any appreciable extent. Most of
[492] the animals used as labor in the production of sugar cane are brought
[231]
[233] into the area from the sertão, and little livestock breeding is found
in this area. The processing of sugar cane is in the hands of a small
[471] number of medium-sized usinas. The companies which own these usinas
[178] are gradually buying up the plantations so that to an increasing extent
the mills directly control the production of sugar cane. Most of the
[497] cane is brought to the usinas by railroad, although sailing boats are
[489] used for this purpose along tidewater. Most of the sugar produced in
[505]
[438] the Recôncavo is consumed within the state of Bahia, but small quantities
[439] are shipped to other parts of Brazil. Both the aristocratic upper class
[565] and the rising non-aristocratic business interests of the Recôncavo are
[471]
[472] involved in the ownership and administration of the sugar industry. The
[464] permanent labor force is supplied from the settlements of the sugar cane
[178] plantations and the mills, but the rural population and the labor force
of the sugar area are declining. Seasonal labor for the harvest comes
from the interior sertão of Bahia.

249 311 [134] Commercial sugar cane cultivation is confined to the humid Coastal Plain areas with Cretaceous clay soils, except for a small area in São Filipe. Since the areas of Cretaceous clay soils are limited and compact, sugar cane production is highly localized in two areas: (1) the main sugar cane area in the _municípios_ of Santo Amaro, São Francisco, and São Sebastião; and (2) a smaller area north of the Bacia do Iguape in the _município_ of Cachoeira. There is a third area of less intensive production in southern São Filipe.

249 244 [433] The sole purpose of cultivation in the sugar cane area is the production of a commercial product, but the areas of tobacco-manioc cultivation produce both a staple food and a commodity for sale outside the region. Most of the tobacco and manioc of the Recôncavo are produced under a land rotation system in which the sequence is: (1) tobacco; (2) manioc; and (3) fallow in wild vegetation. The tobacco is planted in small fields, usually after an application of manure. The entire plant is harvested repeatedly until it will no longer produce a salable leaf. Manioc is planted following tobacco, sometimes several times, until the field is exhausted and abandoned to the second growth. The fallow period is frequently short, sometimes as little as one year. Cultivation is entirely by hand--no plows are used. There is very little selection of seed, and only one variety of tobacco--_Bahia Brasil_--is
[423] [427] produced. Tobacco and manioc are produced almost exclusively by small cultivators who are either owners or renters. Frequently livestock
[231] [233] are raised upon the properties of the cultivators, but except for the use of manure in the cultivation of tobacco, there is little integration of crop and livestock production.
276 The leaf is harvested, dried, and partially fermented by the cultivator.
276 438 [452] [488] The marketing of tobacco is inseparable from the credit arrangement between the cultivator and the tobacco buyer or agent. The leaf is delivered by the producer to the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse.

000 the storekeeper-buyer or the local tobacco warehouse. The roots of the
258 438 manioc are processed locally, in *casas de farinha*, and the *farinha de
mandioca* is sold in the local market or to storekeepers in the nearby
village or town.

049 The sub-region of tobacco and manioc production occupies the
244 humid eastern and southern edges of the Uplands. The chief center of
311 production, the Southwestern Recôncavo, occupies a zone of deep, sandy
134 and sandy loam soils lying in flat-surfaced uplands above crystalline
rocks. The northern parts of the tobacco-manioc sub-region occupy the
rough, dissected southern edge of the sandy Tertiary *taboleiros*--in this
northern area the production of both crops is less intensive than in the
Southwestern Recôncavo. The area of primary tobacco and manioc production
generally conforms to the forest and scrub forest transition and
is expanding southwestward beyond the traditional Recôncavo along this
[433] physical boundary zone. The intensity of production is also increasing,
[178] but with violent year to year fluctuations.

241 In addition to sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc, other subsistence
433 and commercial products are grown in the Recôncavo. The most important
of these are corn and beans, grown as commercial and subsistence crops
in the north and west of the region, and coconuts, which are produced
along the beach line. Bananas, sweet potatoes, and peanuts are grown
in most parts of the Recôncavo, but on a small scale.

241 There are several areas in which there is little or no cultiva-
311 137 tion. The rougher Intermediate Hills, which are forested, separate the
sugar cane sub-region from the tobacco-manioc sub-region. The lowland
areas of Tertiary and crystalline soils are also forested and are culti-
vated under a non-intensive land rotation system with some associated
241 livestock. The Recôncavo is distinguished from the surrounding areas
by its relatively greater mean intensity of cultivation. In the

BB
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In the surrounding *sertão* livestock production is the areally and, in many cases, economically dominant activity; the Recôncavo is primarily a region of crop cultivation.

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[249]
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[249]
The Recôncavo is a functional unit in the economic organization of commercial agriculture and marketing. Salvador, with one-third of the people of the region, is the primary market center. The credit essential to the production of tobacco passes from the city to the countryside, while the leaf is either shipped to the city for export or is sent to local cigar factories controlled by Salvador companies. Similarly, the headquarters of the sugar industry and the chief market for its products is Salvador. Feira de Santana is also a functional center for the region, since in its markets the agricultural and industrial products which either originate in the Recôncavo or are imported through Salvador are exchanged for the livestock, crops, and extractive products of the *sertão*.

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[423]
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Many of the features of the agricultural system of the Recôncavo are also characteristic of Brazil. Both the land rotation system and the permanent monoculture are basic Brazilian agricultural systems. Agricultural technology, in the Recôncavo and in most parts of Brazil, is relatively backward. Brazilian agriculture is labor extravagant, and there is a constant *falta de braços*, but with few attempts at mechanization. Agriculture is highly speculative, whether tobacco in the Recôncavo or coffee in São Paulo. The large property—latifundia—and the class organization with which it is associated are important in the region and in the country as a whole. There are large numbers of semi-dependent small cultivators in the Recôncavo as in other parts of Brazil. Both the region and the nation are very dependent upon the sale of agricultural products to distant markets.

128 (2) tobacco production; (3) manioc production; (4) the land rotation sys-
241 tem; and (5) alternative agricultural products.

249 For three centuries the sugar industry was the basis of the com-
471 mercial economy of the Recôncavo and for the last century it has con-
tinued to play an important role. As a result of its long and profitable
history, it has a number of advantages as a basis for agricultural de-
velopment. Its capital assets are large--the best land in the region, a
number of industrial plants, and a transportation network. Moreover, its
[565] land is organized into large units, many of which are under the control
of a single company, and all of which are under the control of a small
group of the upper class. The industry has a large administrative staff,
the most experienced in the region in large-scale enterprises--the
organization of agricultural and industrial production, labor, trans-
portation, and finance. It has the very great advantage of good politi-
cal connections and government support. A part of the industry,
[242] composed chiefly of the largest usinas, has had some experience with
improved varieties of cane, and on a very limited scale with mechaniza-
tion.

249 Against these advantages are a number of limiting factors. Most
471 of the local capital of the sugar industry apparently is committed in
433 the present plant. The sugar economy of the Recôncavo is large scale
only in relation to the other agricultural enterprises of the region--
the mean daily capacity of the mills can scarcely exceed 500 tons.
Moreover, many of the mills are obsolescent--there is only one new
usina, and only the larger mills have very much new equipment. Despite
[464] the presumed administrative skill of the industry, labor has been one
[178] of the continuing problems since the deterioration of the old feudalistic
[466] employer-employee relationships of the late nineteenth century. However,

249 471 433 these individual shortcomings of the industry are less important than, and to a certain extent derived from, three basic problems of the sugar economy: land, market, and leadership.

249 [311] Most of the area of Cretaceous soil in the lowlands of the Recôncavo presently is occupied by sugar cane or by the fallow fields. Only those lands which are too wet or which are needed for settlement, mills, or transportation are not used for cultivation. Thus there seems to be little opportunity to increase the area of good sugar cane land. It would presumably be possible to reduce the fallow period by lengthening the period of ratoon harvests or to abandon the fallow period altogether. If, as seems likely, these changes would reduce the yield of cane, then it would be necessary to begin to use expensive imported fertilizers in order not to lose the advantages gained by increasing the intensiveness of cultivation. [242] The introduction of high-yielding Javanese varieties of cane has already been attempted, but because of climatic conditions, soil deficiencies, poor cultivation practices, or a combination of these factors, yields remain below East Indian levels. [134] It is theoretically possible that sugar cane cultivation could be extended to the other soils of the lowland--the Tertiary sandy soils and the crystalline soils of the peninsula and of the Intermediate Hills west of the Bay. Both of these soils, however, are relatively infertile, and the sandy soils are particularly unsuited for cane because of their poor retention of water. Sugar cane cultivation is not practical on the Uplands on account of the low precipitation--cane can be grown in only a few damp valleys of the Uplands.

175 249 439 The second great disadvantage of the sugar cane industry of the Recôncavo is in its market relationship. The history of the sugar cane economy of the region may be summarized as follows. At the end of the sixteenth century the forty engenhos of the Recôncavo exported 1,800 to

249 439 [175] of sugar to Europe. This 1,800 tons of sugar was probably a very large part of the total world trade in sugar at that time. In 1948 the twenty usinas of the region exported 8,497 tons of sugar to the rest of Brazil, primarily to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In this year the total international trade in sugar was about twelve million tons. Moreover, the Recôncavo was able to sell in the Brazilian market only by virtue of the support which has been given to the sugar industry of the Northeast by the Brazilian government. The European market has long been lost to the Recôncavo, and the chances of regaining any substantial part of it are not good--not only on account of the low level of efficiency of the Bahian sugar industry but also because of the local and foreign sources of sugar against which it would have to compete in the European market.

249 565 178 571 The third problem of the sugar industry is leadership, which is to say the problem of the Bahian upper class. The development of the sugar economy and of the aristocratic upper class of the Reconcavo are practically inseparable, and the decline of the former is in part a reflection of the inability of the latter to provide intelligent and progressive leadership. The institutions which were developed in the opening century of colonization for the production of sugar succeeded altogether too well as far as the region is concerned, for since then the industry has not succeeded in establishing a new pattern in conformity with the changing systems of technology and the new competitive situation. A century of failure either to develop an efficient sugar industry or to find new sources of income for the sugar area is a sign of the continuing failure of the upper class. More and more the leadership of the sugar industry is passing from the artistocrats to the new segment of the upper class, the agricultural capitalists. In most cases these men seem to have a broader view of the problems of the

249 industry than the aristocrats, as the partial rationalization of the
565 sugar system since 1900 testifies. However, the entry of even these
178 571 relatively progressive and forward-looking business men into an industry whose only future is that guaranteed by the protection of the government does not reveal a willingness either to accept short-term risks or to make an investment in the long-term future of the Recôncavo.

175 Tobacco, as has been seen, began its history as an auxiliary of
277 433 the sugar cane economy. The development of the commercial tobacco
439 economy since 1800 indicates a greater flexibility than is characteristic
[567] of the sugar industry. When the decline of the slave trade brought an end to the African market for *fumo em corda*, the tobacco economy turned
277 to a new product, *fumo em fôlha*, and to a new market, Europe. Unlike
439 the sugar of the Recôncavo, Bahian tobacco has been able to compete successfully in the European market against leaf imported from Cuba and from Sumatra. Moreover, the leaf tobacco of Bahia dominates the internal market of Brazil to a degree not equaled by the local sugar industry for several centuries.

There are several possible explanations for the relatively
277 472 greater flexibility of the tobacco economy. Several of the more promi-
249 178 nent firms in the manufacturing of cigars and in the export of tobacco have foreign origins or are owned by people of European background. Indirectly these firms may have affected the operation of the tobacco economy, but it is difficult to find any signs of significant changes in the methods of cultivation. On the other hand, the tobacco industry and trade seem to have been spared the unimaginative and inflexible leadership which the aristocratic upper class of the Recôncavo has given to the sugar industry.

249 Tobacco cultivation by its very nature is more flexible than
[457] the system of sugar production. Instead of the *usina*, which must be

249 [457] purchased in Europe at the expense of precious foreign exchange, tobacco
can be processed for the trade with only a shed and a few crude presses.
[489] Rather than a relatively expensive rail net to assemble the crop, tobacco
can be carried by truck, small boat, or even by pack animal. Moreover,
[433] since the cultivation of tobacco is integrated with the production
of food and is primarily an activity of small farmers, it is possible to
adjust the size of the crop from year to year with a minimum sacrifice
of capital investment.

277 The tobacco industry of the Recôncavo has a number of disadvantages
as a base for commercial development which may be summarized as
problems of: (1) land; (2) markets; and (3) system of production.
249 311 Leaf tobacco production in the Recôncavo and in the adjoining areas of
Bahia is confined to a narrow belt between the humid edges of the Up-
[134] lands and the dry interior of the state. An expansion toward the coast
would bring tobacco first into the Intermediate Hills where the upland
soils which are preferred for tobacco cultivation are of limited area
and then into the humid lowlands in which the Cretaceous soils are
unsuitable, apparently, for the cultivation of quality leaf tobacco
[132] and in which the Tertiary soils are extremely infertile. An expansion
westward would bring tobacco into an area where the precipitation in
[134] most years is inadequate. The interior north of the tobacco area is
dry and has very poor soils, the Tertiary upland soils. There is an
[137] opportunity for the further expansion of the cultivation of tobacco
toward the southwest along the forest and scrub forest boundary into a
region which produces the same general type of tobacco as the Southwestern
Recôncavo--the "Mata" grade. This apparently is the meaning
of the increased tobacco production in Santo Antônio. It should be
possible, at least as far as the soils and climate are concerned, to
continue the expansion toward the southwest into the adjoining

249 311 [245] municípios. However, in this southwestern area the amount of flat land is progressively reduced as the serras of the coffee zone are approached. Moreover, this region is already occupied by the other commercial systems--coffee, and in a few areas, sugar cane. Thus tobacco would not be moving into an area in which it could have either the land or the labor force without a struggle.

277 439 Leaf tobacco has a number of disadvantages as a primary commercial product. The Brazilian market for Bahian tobacco is not yet large enough to stabilize the price during years when it is impossible to sell leaf abroad. In Europe the tobacco of Bahia must compete with leaf from other parts of the world, and because the Recôncavo has not yet succeeded in producing a suitable high quality wrapper leaf, it cannot hope to secure the whole market no matter how great its quantity of production. One of the possibilities which is being considered by the tobacco industry is the production of wrapper tobacco, but the experiments which have been completed so far have not been highly successful. Even if the quality of the tobacco were improved, one basic market problem would remain—tobacco is a luxury product, and many countries find it possible to do without it in times of war or economic distress.

249 The basic problem of tobacco production in the immediate future seems almost certain to be the system of cultivation and the land system with which it is connected. As has been seen, in the main centers of production the fallow period is already extremely short. It is not unlikely that the cumulative effect of too short a rotation period under a system of land rotation will reduce the fertility of the soil to a point where normal second growth will not develop and where land rotation, especially with so demanding a crop as tobacco, will be impossible. Moreover, if the intensity of tobacco cultivation should increase, then it seems inevitable that the density of livestock within

249 the crop region would decline and that manure, essential to the production of tobacco, would become even more expensive than at present. Any increase in the intensity of tobacco production would probably decrease the production of manioc, so that both the sub-region and the Recôncavo would have an even greater food deficit than at present.

241 The system of land rotation is clearly one of the basic problems of the Recôncavo. As the population of the region grows, the problem of the system of cultivation will almost certainly become progressively more acute. One solution which is being proposed by the rural missions of the Ministry of Education is the use of composting as a [178] substitute for manure. As yet the results of the mission program is not clear, but it is obvious that the resistance and the apathy toward new agricultural ideas in the region are very great. As far as could be ascertained, mixed agriculture has not been suggested as a solution to the problem. Indeed, in view of the lack of additional land for the production of forage crops or of grasses, it is difficult to see how such a proposal could be implemented.

242 It is apparent even to the casual observer that there are some alternative crops which might be produced in the Recôncavo. From time to time the agricultural experiment stations and a few enterprising [243] land owners point the way. One example is the production of corn as a commercial crop in the northern part of the município of Muritiba. At [312] the price of corn prevailing in 1953, it was believed possible to produce the crop profitably using irrigation water pumped from the Rio Paraguaçu, and a single landowner was making the attempt. Obviously there are no large areas in the narrow valley which can be irrigated, nor is the water supply great. It is, however, suggestive that it is possible to produce a staple food crop at as great a profit as tobacco. In the

245 been indicated, banana area and production do not have a consistent re-
433 lationship, no attempt has been made to alter the map of cultivated
127 area for bananas.
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● 249 Tobacco. Although there is a large range in tobacco yields
433 within the Recôncavo as calculated from the official data, only those
127 for São Filipe seem completely unacceptable. If the area of this
município were at the high level—3,600 hectares--indicated and the
given production data are correct, then its yield was an infinitesimal
190 kilograms per hectare. The official production data are, in
approximate terms, confirmed by other sources.[1] However, the area
indicated by the official data is much higher than either the data
249 of Marques or field experience would indicate. Estimates from the
433 mean of surrounding *municípios*, from the mean yield calculated from
127 Marques, and from the area given by Marques adjusted to the 1948 level of
128 production, give the following figures, respectively: 675 hectares,
692 hectares, and 700 hectares. The median of these figures—692 hec-
tares--was selected and used in preparing Maps 28, 29, and 33 in
Chapter V.

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[113] [1] Antonio Nonanto Marques, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-85; and Instituto Bahiano do Fumo, *Contribuição do Instituto Bahiano do Fumo*, pp. 1-16.

APPENDIX E

Tobacco Zones of Bahia

249 659 311 The tobacco industry, the exporting houses, and the official tobacco organizations of the government have divided the entire leaf tobacco producing area of Bahia into four zones on the basis of the kind of tobacco produced. None of these zones even approximately coincides with the Recôncavo, but three of the four include Recôncavo *municípios*, while the edge of the fourth touches upon the region. These four zones, in order of approximate relative value of their leaf, are "*Mata*," "*Feira*," "*Caatinga*," and "*Sertão*." Many different types and grades are included in "*Sertão*." The accompanying map (Map 136) shows the relationship of these zones to the Recôncavo.

249 311 "*Mata*," the most valuable, is a good burning, light to medium tobacco which can be used after twelve months of curing. Very often it is worth twice as much as the next grade. The "*Mata*" zone stretches from northern Santo Amaro to the southwestern extreme of the coffee zone. It is divided into three parts—*norte*, which includes northeast Santo Amaro, southeast Feira de Santana, and Cachoeira; *sul*, which includes southern Castro Alves, southern Santo Antônio, São Miguel, and the *municípios* to the southwest; and *fina*, which includes São Gonçalo, Conceição da Feira, Muritiba, Conceição do Almeida, Cruz das Almas, São Filipe, São Félix, Maragogipe, and northern Santo Antônio. The greatest premium within the *Mata Fina* grade is given for Cruz das Almas leaf, although São Gonçalo leaf also is highly valued. In addition to the intrinsic value of the leaf, "*Mata*" tobacco is valuable because of its uniformity, both from area to area and from year to year. In part this uniformity results from the fact that it is grown upon similar

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 420]

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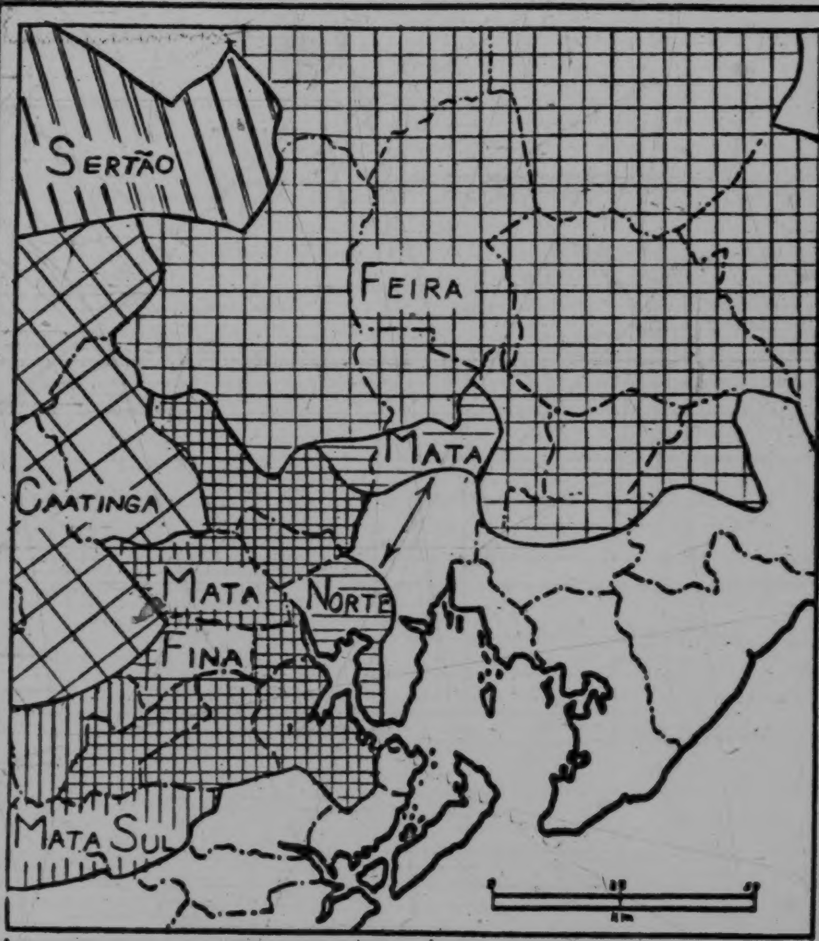
SERTÃO
FEIRA
MATA
CAATINGA
MATA
NORTE
FINA
MATA SUL
Km

RECONCAVO OF BAHIA

Official Zones of Tobacco Production

Grades of Bahia-Brasil Leaf

FAP 136

249 311 soils under more dependable rainfall conditions than are characteristic of the other zones.

The "Caatinga" zone includes Santo Estêvão, Castro Alves, Ipirá, and Santa Teresinha--the município west of Castro Alves. When the rains [132 134] of the growing season--June, July, and August--are plentiful, these tobaccos are much like those of the "Mata" zone, though somewhat harsher--probably because of the more saline soils. If precipitation is scarce, the tobacco is gummy and requires long curing--two years or so--before use. If the rains fail entirely, a second attempt may be made to plant during the summer rains of November, December, and January.

The "Feira" zone includes Feira de Santana, Coração de Maria, Irará, Alagoinhas, Catu, Pojuca, northeastern Santo Amaro, and northern São Sebastião, as well as Inhambupe, Entre Rios, and Serrinha. "Feira" leaf is often large, rather dark, and moderately strong, and requires [132] at least two years for curing. Like the "Caatinga," its quality varies in response to changes in precipitation, but in general it is more uniform.

"Sertão" tobacco is highly diverse in type and quality. Its zone of production is large in size, extending west to the Chapada Diamantina and southward beyond the Rio de Contas. Generally this leaf is large and coarse, but as a result of the diverse physical conditions in the scattered areas in which the crop is produced, the quality of the leaf is variable over a wide range.

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/For information on sugar-cane cultivation and processing and the sugar-cane plantation system as a whole, see category 116, pp. 3-11, 19-21, 29, 33-71, 179-186 and 189-190./

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517 harvesting and milling. The factory operates twenty-four hours
a day during this season. In the winter, when they have more
[461] leisure, travel is too difficult, for the roads disappear in
mud. Few of the rural people go to the town of Vila Recôncavo,
[249] for it has nothing to attract them except the boat to Salvador
and the priest, whom they sometimes visit to have a
[546] Mass said or for a burial. The free movies recently innovated
[562] by the Petroleum Council and located a mile from the
factory have been a boon to the rural people, but as a rule
only the men attend. In fact, almost any kind of off-plantation
gathering is attended predominantly by men.

*249 On most plantations the *casa de farinha* is a social gathering
*565 place, and both males and females congregate there to
461 talk about the latest news while they work. The women also
gossip at the local well as they fetch water or remain there
[521] washing their clothes. Their everyday lives are busy, and
there is little time for purely social activities. The day begins
[512] and ends early. Soon after dark the lights go out, the
houses close, and silence reigns except for the noise coming
from the *casa de farinha*, which may operate all night, or the
lonesome singing of the *caatingueiros* housed in the barracks,
* or the strong rhythmic sound of the drums coming from a distant
249 *candomblé* ceremony. Because there is little work for
*565 women on a plantation, the "extra" girls, those for whom
there are no potential husbands, ask the planter to get them
461 work as domestics in the city; this is usually easy, for there
357 is nearly always someone in Salvador looking for a "good,
strong country girl" to work in the home. Occasionally, if a
worker's son is especially intelligent and industrious, he too
may be placed in some position in the city.

*565 Class C comprises the majority of the population in the town
of Vila Recôncavo and includes most of the occupations listed
in Group 3 of the preceding chapter--that is, fishermen, gardeners,
and artisans. There are no "pure whites" in this
class, but, as in the rural area, a few "whites of the land"
and the full range of *mestiços*, whose various color and social
[361] characteristics will be discussed later. The people of Class
C live for the most part in the lower section of town, in the
areas called Cortume, Largo de Santa Cruz, Rua Nova, Boqueirão,
[423] Cumbamba, and Caquende. The great majority of them
own their homes, although the land belongs to the Fazenda Engenho
[427] da Vila, to the church, or to the *prefeitura*, and is rented
for a small yearly sum. The houses are small, usually

8. Religion

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[249] DURING COLONIAL and empire times, religion occupied a
large part of the lives of the landed aristocracy. The town of
Vila Recôncavo had a Franciscan convent, a large mother
church of the parish of São Gonçalo, and the chapel of the
[793] Third Order of Franciscans. In the rural area of the com-
munity nearly every plantation had its own chapel, which
formed part of the owner's house, and its own chaplain to care
for the spiritual needs of the landowning families and their
[794] slaves. Much of the wealth of landowners was used to build
magnificent churches, to sponsor religious processions, and
to maintain religious brotherhoods for laymen.

In this century, however, Catholicism is no longer the of-
178 ficial state religion, the landowners no longer support the
79 town church as they used to, and the Third Order of Francis-
*[565] cans has died out in Vila Recôncavo. Today members of the
upper class (Class A) confine their support to the churches
they attend in Salvador, leaving the local church to the mercy
of God and to the gente pequena of the town. Visits from the
Franciscans to celebrate Mass and give instruction for first
communion have taken the place of the plantation chaplain and
chapel. The priests today say that the people of the commu-
nity have no intellectual basis for understanding religious
teachings or beliefs. Consequently, they say that they now
seek only to have as many as possible conform to the outer
forms and rituals of the church and refrain from attending the
African cults.

175 In addition to the formal structure of the Catholic Church
there arose, especially in the nineteenth century, many houses
794 of African cultism, called in this region candomblé. The ad-

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RACE RELATIONS IN A RURAL COMMUNITY OF THE BAHIAN RECÔNCAVO[1]

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● 249

by
HARRY W. HUTCHINSON

[13]

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1. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a narrow strip along the north-eastern coast of Brazil in what are now the States of Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe and Bahia, was the most important region of economic, political and social life in the whole colony. The rainfall along this portion of the coast is dependable and the extremely fertile soil, which was originally covered with thick forests, was ideally suited for sugar cane. By the seventeenth century, this region produced a large part of the world's sugar supply. Sugar, which was then a luxury in Europe, brought fabulous profits, and the north-eastern coast of Brazil [633] became an exceedingly prosperous colony. Large cities grew up along the coast; Salvador in Bahia and Recife in Pernambuco became the most important centres of colonial life, and Salvador was the capital [346] of the colony from 1549 to 1763. Both were cities of great wealth based on the booming sugar industry. The numerous churches built in Salvador during the period of opulence, with their elaborate gold-leafed wood carving and polychrome tile work, are witnesses to the tremendous wealth of the era.

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It was the plantation system, the basis of this lucrative sugar industry, which gave this region many of its characteristic traditions and formed patterns of race relations which have persisted in a modified form into the present. Gilberto Freyre in his monumental *Casa Grande e Senzala*, and other Brazilian writers [1],[2] have described life on these sugar plantations. African slaves provided the manpower. More than three million Negroes were imported from Africa during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and a large proportion came to the sugar plantations of north-eastern Brazil. [571] The Portuguese plantation owners became rich, and came to form a regional aristocracy with a luxurious and ostentatious way of life. The slaves and their masters, on these plantations, formed two distinct social groups, but it is distinctive of the region that their relations were intimate and warm; Freyre describes the intimacy between the *moleque* (Negro lad) and the master's son as playmates, between the master's wife and her domestic servants, between the Negro nurse and her white charges, and other close

[122]

[1] In addition to thanking those persons listed in the introduction to this series of articles for their aid and co-operation in making this study possible, I wish to thank the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation Inc. and the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University, whose grants of funds contributed largely to the possibility of this study. Also, to acknowledge with thanks the aid of Carmelito Junqueira Ayres and Elisa Amelia Ferreira for their assistance in the collection of the data.

[2] The figures in brackets refer to the bibliography on page 48.

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ties between Negroes and whites on these colonial plantations. All 567
writers have mentioned the frequency of sexual relations between 565
the white plantation owners and their female slaves. Slavery was
not a humane institution in Brazil or elsewhere, but in Brazil 571
relations between the slave and the master were of a more personal
nature than in other regions where slavery existed in the New
World.

By the middle of the last century, the West Indies and other 175
regions of the world were competing with the Brazilian north-east 249
for the world sugar market; and the abolition of slavery in 1888 567
caused difficulties of labour supply on these plantations. The sugar 571
industry no longer provided the great wealth that it had in the past, 466
and many of the old plantations were abandoned or sold to large
commercial companies who installed modern equipment for large-scale 178
sugar production. Plantation slaves became wage labourers, 565
and the old traditional patterns of behaviour between the Negro [464]
slave and the white plantation-owning aristocrat began to disappear,
to be replaced by an impersonal employee-employer relationship in
keeping with the new way of life. Yet many patterns persist from
the days of the old plantation system. Many of the descendants of
the aristocratic plantation owners try to preserve the old traditions.
They are proud of their family names, and large aristocratic families
are still important in the economic and social life of the region. In
many rural localities, there are still plantations where the relations
between the workers and the owners are highly personalized, as
they were in the past, and where customs and traditions formed
during the period of opulence and slavery continue, if modified, by
modern conditions. Throughout this part of Brazil, the relations
between people of different racial groups have been influenced by
the large proportion of Negroes in the population, by the importance
of slavery in the relatively recent past, and by the particular
form which the relations between the Negro slave and the European
master took on the plantations.

II. The community with which the present article is concerned is 121
called Vila Recôncavo; it is a real town situated in the zone known 361
as the Recôncavo which surrounds Salvador, the capital of the State
of Bahia, and which borders on the Bay of All Saints, extending
inland from the shores of the bay some 30 miles on the northern
side, and considerably less on the southern side. The Recôncavo was 175
characteristic of the whole north-eastern plantation region. The Portuguese 249
who settled in Salvador in 1549 recognized the value of [311]
these lands around the new city and the Bay of All Saints for sugar
production. The third governor of Bahia, Mem de Sá (1557–74),

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gave sugar growing a great impetus by organizing expeditions of
soldiers which he led into the farthest reaches of the Bay of All
Saints, killing, driving out or enslaving the hostile Indian inhabit-
175 ants, so as to make the area safe for settlers to move out of the city
into the surrounding area and plant sugar. Mem de Sá himself built
249 one of the largest and most productive of the sugar plantations in the
Recôncavo.[2] His lands comprised three and a half leagues along
423 the coastline of the Bay, extending four leagues inland, and two
islands.[3] This *sesmaria*—as the early land grants were called—of
Mem de Sá was broken down into smaller pieces by his daughter
who inherited it, and by the end of the sixteenth century, most of
the *sesmarias* of the Recôncavo had similarly, been divided into
plantations averaging approximately 600 to 1,000 acres. In the past
250 years, many of these have kept the same boundaries and names,
but their ownership has changed hands many times and they have
passed through many cycles of prosperity and depression.

249 The essential form of a plantation in the Recôncavo has changed
[178] little since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the past,
the entire plantation was known as an *engenho*, taking its name from
[376] the sugar-mill building which was the heart of the plantation. There
were two chief types of sugar mills, one operated by water power
(492) and the other driven by traction power supplied by oxen. Before the
end of slavery, steam-driven machinery had also come into use.
[375] A typical *engenho* had four main items of wealth—its lands, its
(471) buildings, the livestock and the slaves. Most of the land was, of
course, planted in sugar cane, but there were also wood forests to
supply firewood, pastures for the livestock, and small areas devoted
249 to the raising of food stuffs for the personnel of the *engenho*. The
buildings of an *engenho* included the sugar mill, the *sobrado*, or home
342 of the owner, and the slave quarters. The owner's house was fre-
quently a very large and pretentious building with one and a half or
two storeys. In the Recôncavo the landowners sought to build their
houses *a meia encosta*, or against the side of a hill, giving the ap-
pearance of a two-storey house in front, but only one in the rear.
Such homes were frequently constructed of stone, wood and mortar,
with tile roofs. The slave quarters, which were known as *senzalas*,
were generally long narrow buildings with sides of mud or *taipa* and
249 and roofs of palm fronds. The livestock of a typical *engenho* con-
231 sisted of oxen, burros, horses, sheep and cows. The oxen supplied
[492] the power to turn the grinding mills when there was no water power,
and they pulled the large two-wheeled carts which were used to
transport the cane from the fields to the mill. Horses and burros pro-
vided transportation for the plantation owner in supervising the work
in the fields, and for him and his family for visits to nearby *engenhos* and
to town. Cattle and sheep grazing on the portions of the land which
were fallow supplied milk and meat to the plantation community.

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The most valuable property of a colonial *engenho*, however, was the slaves. Comparatively few Portuguese came to the Recôncavo, and even those among them who had been labourers in Portugal did not come to Brazil to do manual work. African slaves had already been used on sugar plantations in the Madeira Islands, and a slave system was imported into Brazil along with sugar cane. Although it was expressly prohibited by the Portuguese Government,[4] the early settlers in Bahia enslaved the Indians who did not flee or who were not killed in the early fighting with the colonists. Governor Mem de Sá's Testament lists 95 Indian men slaves, 84 Indian women slaves and only 20 African slaves.[5] From the start, however, Indians were considered inferior to Africans as slaves; they seemed unable to adapt themselves to continuous labour in the fields and mills. Yet in many cases they were kept as fishermen, hunters and boatmen for the *engenho*, being in these activities superior to the newly-arrived Negroes. By 1700, the Negro slaves greatly outnumbered the Europeans in the region, and there were but few Indian slaves. Slave was almost synonymous with Negro.

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An inventory of an *engenho* of about 650 acres, made in 1866 shortly before the end of slavery, gives a total value of 200 contos[1] for the *engenho*. The land, houses, slaves and livestock were valued at 125 contos; the value of the slaves alone was placed at 65 contos. The inventory divides the slaves into two categories: house slaves *(escravos de casa)* and work slaves *(escravos de lavoura)*. There were 18 house slaves and 103 work slaves. Among the house slaves were 1 barber-tailor-painter, 6 servants, 1 cook, 2 seamstresses and 1 apprentice seamstress, 2 sweet-makers, 2 laundresses, and 3 children without specific 'profession', as their occupation was called. Of the work slaves, 59 were listed as field workers (26 men and 33 women of all ages above the age of 12), 18 as small children, and 26 as specialists—including 4 ox-cart drivers, 5 sailors, 2 ironsmiths, 3 bricklayers, 1 field manager, 1 ship captain, 1 gardener, 1 barrel-maker, 1 specialist in the boiling of sugar, and 1 nurse. The prices of the slaves ran from 'without value' or as low as 20 milreis to as high as 1 conto 400 milreis, depending upon the age, physical condition and degree of skill of the slave.[2] The slaves were always listed in such inventories as foreign- or native-born and generally, if it were known, the place or tribe of origin was given. Many are listed simply as *Africano*. For those born in Brazil, the terms used are *Pardo*, *Cabra* or *Crioulo*; the diminutive form of these terms is used for all

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[1] The conto is a unit of Brazilian currency, composed of 1,000 milreis. The milreis, or cruzeiro as it is also called today, is the standard unit of currency. In 1951 the milreis was officially valued at 5.27 cents in U.S. currency, making the conto worth $52.70. However, it must be kept in mind that in 1866 the value of the milreis was considerably higher. [436]

[2] In 1833 this same *engenho* had 68 house slaves and 133 work slaves. The highest valued slave was 900 milreis.

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567 those under 12 years of age.[1] Of the 121 slaves listed in the particular
inventory mentioned above, 40 were African. Most of these came
from West Africa. Of those whose African origin is indicated, *Nago*
(Yoruba) is most often listed, and *Gege* (Ewe) is second.

249 On these sugar plantations of the Recôncavo in the colonial period,
the overseer of all operations involved in the growth of sugar cane
565 and production of sugar was the owner himself. Generally, only the
463 oldest son was trained to take over his duties on the plantation; the
younger sons were sent to Salvador, to Recife, or even to Europe
to be educated as lawyers, physicians, engineers or Catholic priests.
Daughters were married early and given their dowry, or they were
[582] sent to convents to become nuns or live as lay sisters. Marriages
with first cousins were frequent. Every effort was made to keep the
plantation undivided and in the family. The Recôncavo sugar plantation, until about the middle of the nineteenth century, was a
remarkably stable community changing little in size and organization from generation to generation.

249 After the abolition of slavery, there was a partial exodus of ex-
567 slaves from the plantations to nearby towns and to the capital of
Bahia. The ex-slaves who moved to small towns became manual
463 labourers or fishermen, or engaged in the profession they had learned
on the plantations, such as barbering, bricklaying, etc. In other
464 cases, ex-slaves rented small plots of land on neighbouring plantations
to raise manioc, corn, tobacco and other crops which required little
[427] outlay of capital. Others became sugar planters on a small scale;
known as *rendeiros*, they rented a few acres from a plantation and
cultivated sugar cane, sending the product to the nearby *engenhos* for
milling. In other cases, the ex-slaves simply moved from one plantation to another, or they often remained as free men on the same
plantation, still engaged in raising sugar cane, living under the same
249 conditions as before, but legally free. Contrary to popular opinion,
433 the *engenhos* of the Recôncavo did not all cease operations after
abolition. Many of them kept on producing as before. In other cases
567 the *engenho* or mill closed down while the plantation continued to
plant sugar cane, sending it to a nearby *engenho* which was still
functioning for milling. Some *engenhos*, however, did close down
altogether and were abandoned, or went into the hands of receivers.
249 At this time many plantations changed owners—wealthy people in
471 the city were able to buy lands at a low cost and did so. But the
failure of many of the *engenhos* in the Recôncavo was not a direct
567 result of abolition, it was rather the continuation of an economic
[425] trend which had been going on for a long time. For many years
previous to abolition, the plantations of the Recôncavo had suffered
[826] from lack of capital, poor administration, occasional crop failure, and

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[178] [1] In the inventories, *pardo* indicated light skin; *cabra*, dark skin; and *crioulo*, black. These same terms nowadays are used differently in the Recôncavo. See page 38 ff.

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from the competition of other sugar-producing areas. Abolition was [471]
the factor which, in many cases, simply ended a struggle several [567]
decades old.

The overall production of sugar in the Recôncavo was already [433]
dropping noticeably at the time of abolition, and it continued to
decrease afterwards. At the end of the last century, state-supported [567]
usinas, or large mechanical factories for milling sugar cane, were
opened in an effort to stimulate sugar production. At the same time, [654]
various other *usinas* were opened by private capital. These central [471]
mills received and processed the sugar cane of many plantations.
The *usina* had the advantage of freeing the planter from the worries [433]
of milling and marketing the sugar, allowing him to concentrate on
higher production of sugar cane, while the mechanized *usina* was
able to produce more sugar out of the cane, thus increasing pro-
duction. This system of sugar production proved relatively lucrative, [471]
and the government *usinas* passed into private hands. The owners of
usinas bought as many neighbouring plantations as possible, and in [473]
this way the *usineiros*, as they were called, became at the same time
the mill owners and sugar-cane planters—employers of factory
workers and of agricultural workers. The plantations which did not
pass into the hands of an *usina* became *fornecedores*, supplying cane
to one or another large sugar mill.

The *usina* system, however, in many respects did little to change 249
the traditional plantation system. The plantations belonging to 178
usineiros continue as separate units; each generally had an administrator, a man responsible to the *usineiro*, who is in charge of the plantation. As a rule the administrator, who is an employee of the *usina*, lives in the old *sobrado*, the former residence of the *senhor do engenho*, as the old plantation owners were known. The workers on the plantations and their families frequently still live in *senzala*-like houses, usually a long narrow building under one roof divided into separate apartments of two or three rooms. Despite many changes of
technology, many examples of the old and the new exist side by side
on these Recôncavo plantations. On the same plantation both me- [407]
chanical tractor and ox traction may be used to pull plows. There [492]
are workers' houses side by side, one with electricity and a radio, and
another using candles and kerosene lamps. Furthermore, the hier- [365]
archy of workers and specialists in sugar-cane raising persists little
modified from the early nineteenth century. There are the field
hands, the ox-cart drivers, the artisans and other specialists. The [463]
plantation is also approximately the same size as it was in the early
nineteenth century (although several may be the property of one
company nowadays) and it has about the same number of hired
workers as it had slaves before.

But the *usina* system and other outside influences have made for
many fundamental changes in the Recôncavo. In the very large 600

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178 In the very large
466 *usinas*, the mill hands and even the field hands are modern industrial
workers. They are employees of a large industrial corporation and
[464] are protected at least theoretically by the labour laws of the nation.
The highly personalized relationship between the plantation workers
and the owner-administrator of his own plantation, which persisted
from the slave era, has been replaced on the larger *usinas* by the
impersonal employee-employer relationship of the modern industrial
age. Today, modern plantations and small towns have elec-
[365] tricity; there is modern housing for workmen; the State and even
[362] the sugar companies provide medical aid; there are primary schools
both in the small towns and on many plantations; recreation facilities
[743] are found in the towns and provided by the *usinas*; and the sugar-
cane experimental station situated in the area constantly urges
[872] fertilization of the land and modern techniques and methods of
sugar-cane production. But the older and more traditional patterns
[529] exist side by side with the new, and each of them influences the
[242] relations among the racial groups of the zone.

361 **III.** Vila Recôncavo is a small town on the Bay of All Saints.
The rural area around it, which lies within the social and economic
[131] orbit of the town and which is the unit under consideration, com-
[634] prises some 80 square kilometres, or slightly less than half the entire
area of the county of which the town of Vila Recôncavo is the county
seat.[1]

[423] It this area there are 14 plantations, three of which nowadays
plant very little sugar cane. Parts of the town itself are built on the
[634] land of one of these plantations, and the rest of the town area is
owned in small lots by private individuals or by the Church. Although
Vila Recôncavo is the county seat, local government is the only
[504] important function which it fulfils for the surrounding area. It is not
used as a shipping point, either for receiving supplies from the
[487] outside or for sending sugar to the outside. *Braços do mar*, or inlets
of the bay, go to many of the plantations and are deep enough for the
saveiros (shallow draft sailboats) used on the bay for transport. Many
[438] of the plantations have direct connexion with Salvador. Commerce
in Vila Recôncavo is almost entirely limited to supplying the
[162] 1,462 inhabitants of the town and of some small islands and of one
community near by which is not devoted to sugar production. It is
not the major supply source even for these groups which live near
enough to another and far larger commercial centre where they
634 prefer to do their marketing. The *prefeito* or mayor of the county is
rarely a resident of the town itself. Rather he is usually a planter of
the surrounding area. He goes into town to do municipal business,

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[1] Both the town and the county bear the name of Vila Recôncavo.

town, which is the centre of the municipal bureaucracy. The upper 565 stratum of the lower classes is also found in both zones, since it contains town-dwelling artisans and fishermen as well as plantation workers. But the stratum of lowest prestige, the people who live marginally in Vila Recôncavo, is limited to the town itself. There is no place for them on the plantations or *usina* of the rural area.

As has already been indicated, the major economic factor in the 249 community area of Vila Recôncavo is sugar-cane growing and the 463 manufacture of sugar. There are approximately 2,500 people dependent upon this activity.[1] Each plantation has its small community, 563 with a store, houses, repair shop and the owner's house. Plantation workers live on the plantation, in houses belonging to it. They are paid according to the amount of work they do—that is, how much cane they cut per ton, or how many feet of planting they cultivate, etc. As a rule, there are only three salaried persons employed on a typical sugar plantation—the administrator, the *feitor* (foreman), and the *vaqueiro* (cowboy). The administrator is the most important person on the plantation, directing the work, making estimates for the forthcoming harvest, co-ordinating the cutting, transport and planting of cane, etc. It is the administrator who runs the plantation, who remains in the saddle all day overseeing the work, who checks on everything. The administrator is responsible only to the owner of the plantation, who generally acts through him. In nearly all cases the administrator is either a mulatto or a Negro. In two cases, Negro administrators are unable to read or write, but they are experts at their job and enjoy the full confidence of the owner and the respect of the workers. The *feitor* acts as the assistant of the administrator; he walks about carrying a measuring rod and a notebook, making note of the amount of work done by each man in the field. Frequently this is the middle step up the ladder from worker to administrator. As a rule, the *feitor* in Vila Recôncavo plantations is a mulatto, a dark *mestiço* (mixed) or a Negro as is the administrator. The *vaqueiro* is preferably a *caboclo* from the north. He looks after [233] the oxen used for hauling the sugar cane—of which there may be as many as 90 to 100 head—and the milk-cows, inspects fences, for the horses and mules, carries messages, and generally rides with the owner when he travels about from plantation to plantation. The three racial elements are thus represented among the high-prestige men of a typical plantation—the owner is Caucasoid, the administrator and the *feitor* are Negro-Caucasoid mixtures, and the cowboy from the *sertão* is generally of partly American-Indian descent. 249

Under this hierarchy comes the main body of workers and their 464 families, which totals about 200 on the average plantation. Such

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[1] Of the total population of 2,500 people living on the sugar plantations and at the usina, approximately 600 men are the actual cane field and usina workers. Obviously this permanent labour force is inadequate; it is supplemented by groups of *caatingueiros* at the harvest-planting season. [162] [464]

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[241] sugar workers move rarely, remaining for generations on the same
plantation. Each family has its garden where a little maize, beans
[465] and manioc are grown. Pay day comes every two weeks, when as a
rule the worker goes to the owner's house to receive his money.
The pay is small, 15 to 25 dollars a fortnight, depending on how
[461] much the man has worked during the period. Men do not like to
work more than five to six hours a day, from six a.m. to twelve noon,
and seldom work more than five days a week. They work easily,
without hurry. In the afternoon they work in their garden, if their
249 wives have not already done so. On the plantation no one starves;
466 everyone has his *patrão* (protector) in the person of the owner, and
in case of an emergency, accident or sickness, he expects help from
him. This personal element is very important on most plantations in
the vicinity of Vila Recôncavo; as a rule, the owner knows all the
workers by name, knows their families and their family troubles and
[164] problems. He is aware of their love affairs and up-to-date on the
health of new-born children and their mothers. Nearly all cases of
sickness, from common colds and rheumatism to more serious
ailments, are brought directly to the attention of the *patrão* or his
wife. The owner, returning from a prolonged stay in the city,
receives visits from the workers or from their wives, during which all
the personal gossip is exchanged. The workers inquire about the
owner's family and more extended family, for they generally know
them all. Engagements, weddings, births, deaths and illnesses are
reported on both sides. Complaints or requests are also made to the
466 owner. The relationship is highly personal, intimate, gentle and frank.

On one rather small *usina*, which will be called São Pedro, in the
249 rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, the situation is somewhat different.
São Pedro is not one of the large *usinas* of the Recôncavo, owned by
472 a corporation; it is relatively small and owned by one of the most
[473] important families of the Vila Recôncavo community, members of
the regional aristocracy whose family has held plantations there for
many generations. Because the owners of the *usina* actually administrate it, and since they are in residence in the locality at least
part of the year, they are able to maintain many of the traditional
personal relations with their employees, many of whom have worked
on the plantations belonging to their family and in the *usina* for most
[162] of their lives. But there is a total of 1,183 workers and their families
at the *usina* and on the plantations belonging to São Pedro, and the
very size of the enterprise and the number of workers make for a
more impersonal and more strictly economic relationship between
employer and employee. Workers become more a name on a payroll,
and the employer a person with whom one seldom has direct contact.
In the larger *usinas* of the Recôncavo this trend is even more marked
especially where the employer is a large corporation with offices in
Salvador.

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192 8. The *moreno* has excellent skin, fine-textured and smooth. He is light-skinned but not white. He has dark hair, which is long and
826 either wavy or curly. It is manageable and does not need straightening. His features are much more Caucasoid than Negroid. Here again we can distinguish between the dark and light *morenos*. Also we must distinguish between the *moreno mulato*, and the *moreno* of the white families—the *moreno branco*. *Moreno*, as used regarding the 'white', distinguishes the brunet from the blond of the same group.

Few people fit any of these 'racial' types 100 per cent. When someone comes very close to being a perfect *preto*—that is, has all the characteristics of the *preto*—people call him *bem preto* or *bem pretinho* (really black). The same is true of the *sarará*—*bem sarará*, or of the *moreno*, who will be called *bem moreninho* or *moreno fino*. It is just as difficult to find the perfect type for the other classifications, because
563 there are so many variations. Often an individual is of one physical
826 type, but has one or more characteristics of another type. For instance, one young man in Vila Recôncavo has the characteristics of an *escuro*, but since most people like him they prefer to think of him as *moreno*. He has fine skin and thin facial features, but tight kinky hair. People generally refer to him as *moreno*, adding '*mas êle tem cabelo ruim*' (but he has poor hair). One frequently hears 'he is *mulato*, but very light'. These verbal descriptions paint a vivid picture of the person in question. In Vila Recôncavo, it is not simply a matter of black and white, but of all the shades in between.

A term of classification not listed above, *caboclo*, presents something of a special case. As mentioned earlier, most people with Amerindian physical traits have come into the Recôncavo from the *sertão* during the dry spells in the North. Considering the length of time that people of the North have been periodically coming into the Recôncavo, comparatively few have remained. Nevertheless, the population of Vila Recôncavo has a considerable *caboclo* element —that is, of people with a reddish or bronze tinge to their skin colour, more prominent cheek bones than the African or white elements, and a tendency toward almond-shaped eyes. However, few people in Vila Recôncavo bearing these marks are called *caboclos*.
563 They are classified instead in the local terms listed above, ignoring
[829] Indian traits. In Vila Recôncavo, there is a certain dispraisal of the *caboclo*. He is considered less civilized than the resident of the Recôncavo, though often known as a better worker, more ambitious,
249 trustworthy, more frugal; also less genial than the easy-going
563 person of the Recôncavo. In the rural area of Vila Recôncavo, each
464 year many *caboclo* men come to the plantations to work during
466 harvest time. For the most part they stay together, away from the *morador*, or resident worker of the plantation. The plantations construct a type of barracks to accommodate these men, who do

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their own cooking, care for their own clothes, and spend their evenings gathered around a fire, singing songs of the *sertão*, apart from the permanent workers. [464] [466]

There is a mutual desire to keep apart, for while the *morador* looks down on the *caboclo*, the *caboclo* feels very much the same about the local people. He feels that they are lazy, ignorant, and above all superstitious. The *caboclo vaqueiro* (north-eastern cowboy) of one plantation says that the workers of the plantation are always talking about black magic, that they are lazy and spendthrifts, and at the same time deride his frugality. He says he is not afraid of their black magic, since he knows there is nothing to it, but he distrusts those who speak of it. People in Vila Recôncavo will not admit they have *caboclo* or Indian ancestors. One young girl who is almost a perfect American Indian type says she is a *mulatinha*.[1] She vehemently denied there was any Indian blood in her family, but finally reluctantly admitted that a great-grandparent of hers had been partly Indian. This girl's niece would make a perfect double for the popular conception of Pocahontas, given a feather in her hair and a sarong, but she is considered a '*mulata*, almost *morena*'. [249]

However, among the 'pure' whites there is a different feeling about the *caboclo*. White families say that they would feel proud to know that they have 'Indian blood', for it would show the length of time their family had been in Brazil. Frequently a white child is extremely 'Indian looking', that is, a *moreno* with jet-black, straight hair. The nickname of *tapuya* is often given to this type, which is generally admired by the whites. All plantation owners agree that, for work, no one can top the *caboclo*. The north-eastern worker of [157] American Indian physical type will go into the fields at six in the morning and not return until six at night. He takes his lunch with [461] him and eats it there. On the other hand, the *morador* will go to the fields at six and return at noon. However, as permanent resident workers, plantation owners prefer the Negroes of the Recôncavo. [464] Little if any effort is made to 'fix' the *caboclo* on the plantations. When the harvest is finished, he takes his money and departs. Next year he may come again to the same plantation, or he may not. It seems to make little difference to either party.

There have been no serious tensions between the two groups. [466] They work together during part of the year, but spend their free time separately. This does not mean that an occasional *caboclo* will not stay, take a wife from among the *moradores* and start a family.

The following percentages of racial types were taken from a sample of 162 heads of families, using the four major types: *preto*, 50 or 40 per cent; *mulato*, 59 or 49 per cent; *caboclo*, 3 or 2 per cent; *branco*, 11 or 9 per cent. 162

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[1] Little mulata. Using the diminutive form seems to be a softer and more agreeable way of saying 'mulata'. [829]

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tion of the Negro woman in relation to the other women. She was chosen in first place in only one instance, namely as best worker, and only by the Negroes. In spite of the fact that in Table I the mulatto woman was considered the most attractive, she was chosen so only by the mulattoes. The other three racial types selected the *cabocla* and the white woman. In summing up the total number of 'votes', the mulatto woman won by a narrow margin (four votes). It is interesting to note that the Negroes chose the *preto* man as the most wealthy, putting the caboclo in second place, while the other three racial types put the *caboclo* first.

TABLE II.

Question	Chosen in first place by			
	Negroes	*Mulattoes*	*Whites*	*Caboclos*
Most attractive man	P	B	B	B
Most attractive woman	C & B	M	B	B
Most wealthy man	P	C	C	C
Most wealthy woman	B	B	B	B
Best worker, man	P	C	P	P
Best worker, woman	P	C	M	C
Most honest man	C	C	C	C
Most honest woman	C	C	C	C
Most religious man	C & M	C	C	C & B
Most religious woman	C	C	B	C

(P—*preto*; B—*branco*; C—*caboclo*; M—*mulato*. Where two racial types are in first place, they received an equal number of 'votes'.)

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VI. There is a saying in the Recôncavo that where there was sugar, there were Negroes. This rule of thumb seems to hold remarkably well even today. On the islands in the bay where there never were *engenhos*, there are few *pretos*. In the town of Vila Recôncavo, and in a small settlement to the west of Vila Recôncavo where there never was an *engenho*, there are relatively few *pretos*, in comparison with the area of *engenhos* and plantations. The region as a whole can be shaded off in dark and light, to distinguish roughly the spatial arrangement according to colour. In the areas where there was and is sugar, there are many more *gente branqueada* (whitened people) than in the non-plantation areas.

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These lightened areas seem to continue to lighten, while the darker areas retain their dark characteristics. In Vila Recôncavo, which is a *mestiço* community, there is much more opportunity for

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[484] the lighter-skinned people for intermarriage with the mass of light-
skinned people of the capital. Most of the townspeople have con-
nexions of some sort in Salvador and travel back and forth a great
[464] deal. Some, mostly girls, take employment in the city as maids, and
there either get married, or '*aparecem grávidas*' (show up pregnant),
[357] afterwards returning home to stay or for visits.

On the plantations the people have little opportunity for such
[249] mixing, owing to their isolation. Mixing occurs either on the same
plantation or between neighbouring plantations, and since most of the
563 plantation workers are dark, the offspring tends to remain dark.
369 There is comparatively little marriage between people of the urban
[582] and rural zones.

[829] The people of the town consider themselves far superior culturally to the *taberéu* or 'hick'[1] of the rural zone. Not only are they lighter in colour, but they are more 'citified', having more contact with the outside world, and this contact increases daily. Only in the town did the lower-class people express interest in the racial situation in the United States and particularly question segregation, a practice they could not understand. In the rural zone, the United States meant only some place other than Bahia. This is given as an example of the difference in degree of sophistication between the two parts of a comparatively small area. The sophistication of the townspeople tends to increase, as does their lightness of colour, while on the *fazendas* the colour has remained almost static, as has the degree of instruction.

565 Class is one of the most important factors in the everyday lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo. *Who's Who* is well known to all the residents of the community. Almost any resident will say that there are two classes, the rich and the poor. But definitions vary greatly as to what is rich, while practically all agree as to what is poor. Rich means, primarily, having money, a good house, more than one suit of clothing, a horse or mule, a servant to do the housework, and not having to do manual work. It also includes power of some description over other people. Poor is the reverse of all these things; working hard for someone else, a mud house with a dirt floor, one suit of clothes and one pair of shoes. For everyday ranking, this division into only two classes may serve.

A closer analysis shows that four distinct classes can be recognized, as stated earlier. There are many elements which go toward defining the classes—wealth, education and family. Race is also important. People say that wealth is the most important, education the second, and race the third in importance. Thus race is but one of a number of elements ranking people in a social scale, rather than a separating factor which divides them into distinct groups.

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[1] Other terms used to convey the same meaning are *gente do mato* (people of the forest) and *gente do [illegible]* (backwoodsmen).

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planters. People in the upper class of the town, when they can, send [565]
their children to the capital to continue their education, and there [872]
are several *mestiço* students from Vila Recôncavo studying law,
medicine and engineering in Salvador. The intelligence of the [828]
mulatto is traditional, and it has been equally traditional that the
darker-skinned person is unintelligent. Today these traditions are [829]
not as strong as before, but still it is felt that the mulatto has
somewhat more aptitude than the Negro. The old idea of the Negro,
meant for work and to be servile, still exists, now tempered with the
knowledge that education can change the situation. There is only 563
one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all
shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all 529
sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives 526
shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white
man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to
play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation
centre are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to
keep out the muddy feet of children who came straight from the
beach to have a 'coke'. All the racial types and classes get together 563
here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of
public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price 529
is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. [565]
Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church
there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front 563
and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the 565
acolytes are from all classes and colours. At parties, which are few, [546]
colour lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *morenos* dance with *mulatos*
and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump). [794]

The social situation is gradually changing, and the extremely [574]
personal element is being lost. It is strongest on the private plantation,
where the owner spends the greater part of the year, but at 249
the *usina* much of the personal element is weakened because of the 178
numbers of workers. Even at the *usina*, there is visiting and gossiping 571
between the owners' families and the workers. But at the *usina* not 466
all the workers accept their subservient position as do those of the
plantations. This is specially true of the higher echelon of specialists [463]
and technicians of the mill, who will frequently not go to a party [574]
given by the owner, even though invited. It seems to be a way of
saying that the company of the white owners is neither needed nor
wanted. They prefer to keep their relations on a strictly business
basis. At the *usina*, when a worker is sick, he goes to the medical post
where he is treated by a paid nurse, rather than to the owner's house.
On pay day, the *usina* worker is paid at the mill by a paymaster, not
in the living room of the owner's house. Nevertheless, in spite of the [465]
industrialized aspect of the mill, the number of workers is not too
large to exclude all personal contact with the owners, who adminis-

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571 trate and oversee most of the operations. This type of relationship
466 has proved so satisfactory that up to date there have been no strikes,
[468] and no labour movements, or unions formed among the workmen of São Pedro. The length of time the technicians and other workmen
[467] of the *usina* have remained in their employ, refusing employment in other *usinas* and other occupations, has been a matter of pride to the owners of São Pedro.

249 It is on the plantations belonging to the *usina* that the white
466 owner-*mestiço* worker personal relations are least close. The *usina*
463 owners are able to make only occasional tours of inspection of the
571 plantations, and therefore have little personal contact with the workers. However, the administrator has in many respects taken the place of the owner. He is the only man on the plantation with authority, and all complaints and requests for favours or help must be presented to him. In one case, an administrator has been on the same plantation for 26 years, and is well-known for the 'court' he holds. Once a year he gives an immense party for the entire community, and people from all four classes attend. He is wanted as godfather for the children of the workmen, and as *compadre* in their marriages. Nevertheless, the administrator is as much an employee of the *usina* as is the worker, and while the administrator can and does assume some of the attitudes and responsibilities of the owner, he cannot assume them all. However, it is a frequent saying among the white-owner class that the real owners are the administrators, for they are the group closest to the workers and to the land. A plantation with a poor administrator is not only a poor producer, but also means hardship for the *moradores*; a poor administrator will take no interest in them, and take little care of them.

249 In other areas of the Recôncavo, where the *usinas* are larger and
46 more industrialized and where no owner resides either at the *usina*
571 or on one of the plantations, but lives always in Salvador, there is only a paid representative of the corporation at the *usina*. In such large industrial units the personal element is almost entirely lacking both at the *usina* and on the company-owned plantations. There have been cases of labour difficulties, strikes, violence and the intrusion of political groups. In several instances, there are efforts today, on the owner's part to re-establish personal contact with mill and field workers, even on the largest of the corporation *usinas* and plantations.

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571 VII. The relations between people of different physical types in
466 Vila Recôncavo and on the surrounding sugar plantations have grown
249 out of the plantation-slave system which flourished in the region about a century ago. Many patterns and attitudes formed in that epoch persist even today in the town and on the privately-owned plantations in the vicinity.

plantations in the vicinity. There is the aristocratic group of whites 249 ●
descendants of the *senhores de engenho*—who form almost a caste, 565
marrying among themselves and living out their own social life
apart from the Negro and racially mixed population of the community. 571
Just as the slave owners in the past, however, they depend 563
upon the Negro and *mestiço* for labour; the Negro is pictured as the
faithful servant and attendant of the white aristocrat. Again, as in 466
the past, the mulatto who was the offspring of the European master 178
and a slave mother is pictured as a social upstart and an intelligent
trouble-maker. Yet it is the man of mixed ancestry who holds the [463]
intermediate economic and social positions; he is the minor bureaucrat,
the technician in the *usina*, and the administrator and *feitor* on
the plantations. The essential hierarchy has changed little since
colonial times; and the relationship between these aristocratic whites
and their Negro and mixed workmen is still a highly personal one
lacking in social tensions, since each knows his proper position and
each knows his rights, duties and obligations toward the other.

There is no race problem in Vila Recôncavo, nor does prejudice 563
or discrimination work out as it does in other parts of the Western
world. A Negro cannot become a member of the aristocracy, but a 565
well-educated and economically successful Negro can have easy 463
social relations with this stratum. Negro ancestry is without doubt a 178
grave disadvantage in economic and social mobility, but there are no
political and economic positions closed to a man of Negro or mixed
descent. As yet, however, only a few Negroes have moved into high
political or economic positions. There is only one plantation owner
who is a Negro, and Negroes and *mestiços* hold only minor bureaucratic
and political positions in the community. The *prefeito* or
mayor has nearly always been drawn from the aristocratic white
group, and has never been challenged from the Negro and mixed
population. Yet in the town and among the mill workers, 'people of
colour' are beginning to show independence, and unwillingness
always to occupy a subservient and lowly position. The administrators
like to ride better horses than the aristocrats, to have fancier
saddles, to dress better, and to be more ostentatious than their employers.
Many townspeople know the big city, and the essential class
and racial democracy which exists there. There is competition to
join the local upper class, and derogatory racial criteria are used to
deride competitors who would like to rise out of the lower class
groups into this growing upper class. African culture traits such as [794]
candomblé and the cult of Janaina are associated with low status, and
people who would rise in the local social hierarchy are anxious to
disassociate themselves from these groups.

As modern attitudes and ideology penetrate Vila Recôncavo, 565
there are more and more problems of class relationships; the population 563
is becoming extremely class-conscious, and there is an in- 178

At Bahia in 1807, 1809, 1813, 1816, 1826, 1827, 1828, and 175
1830, slave revolts broke out, terminating in the serious 567
Malê uprising of 1835. There existed here, particularly in
the nineteenth century, a well-established group of Negro [669]
disciples of the prophet Mohammed. Here Nagô was for a [792]
long time a Negro lingua franca (or, to use the corresponding
Portuguese expression, a *lingua geral*), and Nagô is still [197]
occasionally to be heard among some of the older blacks.
Here one might have encountered in the years just preceding [183]
abolition in 1888 an interesting paradox: while at home Bahia
clung tenaciously to slavery, she was known abroad for
the eloquence of her abolition orators.[3] Here, also, one might [771]
have observed the gradual fusion of Catholic belief and ritual [177]
with African mythology and religious practice, evidences
of which may be seen today in *candomblés*, or fetish-cult
centers, like that of Gantois, for example, whose ceremonies
have been carried on in the same sacred place for many
decades.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Bahia 175
became one of the world's great sugar centers where a small 249
aristocracy, as is attested today by the pretentious edifices
still standing, achieved great wealth. As early as 1587 there
were forty-seven sugar *engenhos*[4] in and about Bahia, and

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[3] See Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* (Bahia, 1887), *passim*. This book, although obviously written as abolition propaganda, cites names, places, and dates to support its contentions and does not overlook negative cases. [113]

[4] Each *engenho* consisted of a sugar plantation and a mill for processing the cane. Those at Bahia often had a capacity of a thousand tons or more yearly. Each was largely a self-sustaining economic unit, dependent upon the labor of numbers of Negro slaves. H. Morse Stephens says (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 228) that sugar cane was imported into Brazil from the Madeira Islands in 1548. [433] [464] [567] [137]

[City of Salvador]

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249 these, together with the plantations of Pernambuco, supplied a large part of the sugar for the tables of Europe.

175 By 1670 Bahia was a wealthy capital boasting that her
439 flag was known upon the seven seas. Ships from the Portu-
433 guese empire in the East called regularly on their way back
to Portugal. By the early eighteenth century Bahia had
[162] grown into a city of 70,000, her commerce protected by the
cross-fire of fourteen forts. Six- and seven-story buildings
[34] were common; the possession of carved ebony furniture had
[352] become a symbol of social standing; silks, palanquins, and
[554] the finest porcelain were imported from China. In the sur-
[567] rounding cane fields toiled, it is estimated, ten times as many
slaves as in Virginia. A century later, Lindley, an English smuggler, after admiring the abundance of gold jewelry worn by the women of Bahia, looked out over the shipping in the harbor and wrote of "a degree of wealth unknown in Europe."

Bahia continued to be the first commercial city of Brazil until about 1830,[1] when she finally yielded front rank to São Paulo, the rising young metropolis to the south. But during the entire colonial period (1549–1822), Bahia possessed the principal Brazilian firms and the largest Brazilian fortunes.

175 During the first two centuries of the colonial era, Bahia
633 was the seat of Portuguese control in Brazil, the official residence of high functionaries representing the Portuguese crown. Even after the government was transferred to Rio (1763), Bahia continued to play a prominent role in the politics of the colony and, subsequent to independence

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[249] [1] In 1868, although the decline in sugar production was by that time well advanced, Bahia had 511 *engenhos* producing nearly 19,000 tons of sugar a year.

Outside the city of Bahia and skirting the rim of All Saints Bay lies the Reconcavo,[7] some sixty miles long and 131
varying from a few to thirty miles wide. Its soil is a cretaceous marl of great thickness, similar to the black gumbo of 134
southern Arkansas and northern Texas, known locally as *massapê* or, in literal translation, "that which sticks to the feet." It is quite fertile and well watered and today appears only slightly impaired after nearly four centuries of cultivation. This is the cane and tobacco area upon which formerly [249]
both Bahia's commercial greatness and her need for reliable agricultural (hence slave) labor was based.

The Reconcavo was formerly a center of large landhold- 178
ings, of a rural aristocracy, of a patriarchal system, and of 249
slavery. Today, cane and tobacco are still cultivated, al- 471
though the former, and to some extent the latter, languish by 565
reason of the condition of the world-market and the persistence of primitive techniques of production. Although large 567
landholdings are still common, the rural aristocracy is decadent, its prestige having suffered a gradual but persistent decline throughout the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries with the loss of the sugar monopoly, the growth of the coastal towns, and the accompanying increase in prestige of the urban professional classes. The abolition of slavery in the late nineteenth century was the final blow, and absentee ownership is now the predominating pattern.
However, the present population is more dense in the Re- [161]
concavo than elsewhere in the state outside the city of [144]
Bahia and remains to this day markedly negroid in character.

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[7] The literal meanings of the Portuguese word *reconcavo* are (1) a bay of semicircular shape and (2) the environs of a city. These two meanings appear to have fused in the Bahian use of the term. [103]

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162 de Oliveira estimated that there were then in Bahia province
147,263 unfree Negroes.[5]

464 The blacks were practically all introduced as slaves, Bra-
zil being, until 1888, a slaveholding state.[6] Under the favor-
567 able conditions of a rich soil, intense tropical sunlight, and
249 plentiful rainfall common to the Reconcavo, sugar cane
175 thrived. Its cultivation and processing in a land of "open
resources" demanded a constant and inexpensive labor sup-
ply which the Portuguese, by reason of insufficient numbers
and imperfect acclimitization, were themselves unable to
567 furnish. At first, as in the West Indies and the United
464 States, the indigenous Indians were enslaved; and, after the
175 limited supply on the littoral was exhausted, raiding expedi-
tions penetrated deep into the interior. But the Indians, fa-
miliar with only the crudest forms of agriculture, semi-
nomadic, and as unaccustomed to settled and ordered plan-

Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro [tomo especial; Rio, 1927], p. 294).

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 293 and 330.

[6] For detailed information on the slave trade and slavery see, especially Perdigão Malheiro, *A escravidão no Brasil* (3 vols.; Rio, 1867); Percy A. Martin, "Slavery and Abolition in Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (1933); Louis Couty, *L'esclavage au Brésil* (Paris, 1881); Lawrence F. Hill, "The Abolition of the African Slave Trade to Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (1931); Braz do Amaral, "Os grandes mercados de escravos africanos; as tribus importadas; sua distribuição regional," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro* (special vol; Rio, 1927), pp. 437-96; Affonso Claudio, "As tribus negras importadas," *Revista do Institudo Historico e Geographico Brasileiro* (special vol., Part II; Rio, 1914), pp. 597-655; Mary W. Williams, "The Treatment of Brazilian Slaves in the Brazilian Empire," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XV (July, 1930); Evaristo de Moraes, *A escravidão africana no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1933); João Dornas Filho, *A escrividão no Brasil* (Rio, 1939); Roberto Simonsen, "As consequencias economicas da abolição," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio), May 8, 1938; Affonso de E. Taunay, "Notas sobre as ultimas decadas do trafico," *ibid.*, July 24, July 31, August 7, 1938.

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567 from early colonial times on, seems not to have been very
668 great, and the upheaval which in 1822 culminated in Bra-
*563 zilian independence seems to have buried most of the ves-
[522] tiges of Portuguese prestige. Even today the Portuguese are
the constant butt of vaudeville jokes.

Many of the free *homens de côr* (men of color), especially
175 those who possessed slaves, either were indifferent to the
567 slave question or openly opposed abolition.[95] Most of the
668 large plantation owners and their spokesmen in the pro-
•249 vincial legislature and national parliament opposed the
464 abolition campaign, and their forces at one time dominated
[635] the Liberal party.[96] However, many of the slaveholders ap-
[664] pear to have increasingly accepted abolition as inevitable
[665] and merely to have asked remuneration for the financial
loss involved. Apprehension that the plantation system
[646] would utterly collapse if free labor were substituted for slave

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*[563] [95] The abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca (*ibid.*, pp. 137, 142–43), complains of the persistent opposition to abolition on the part of *homens de côr*. In 1884, out of thirty candidates for the Bahian *camara*, "the only one who in a published document had the audacity to ask election in the name of slavery" was the *homem de côr*, Conselheiro Domingos Carlos e Silva. In 1887 an *homem de côr* canceled his subscription to the *Diario da Bahia* for its refusal to publish an advertisement regarding a fugitive slave. Fonseca regarded this man as "one of the most intolerant slaveholders in Bahia."

[96] On hearing of the program presented by the imperial cabinet on June 6, 1884, "almost all the leaders of the liberal party in Bahia, the owners of large business and commercial houses, and the sugar aristocracy" lodged a protest in which they declared: "The slave is more than a portion of a private fortune; he is a social institution, a labor supply, a necessity to production, an asset of the national life. Above the immediate interests of planter and merchant . . . . are the permanent . . . . interests of society, the benefits which accrue to thousands of human beings living or yet unborn—the necessities of public order, and the development of national wealth" (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 283).

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and that the sudden liberation of large numbers of subjected blacks would subvert public order gradually melted away as the numbers of emancipated Negroes increased and these freedmen gave evidence of their ability and willingness to become an orderly part of the free population and to labor as effectively, if not more effectively, for wages as when impelled by physical force.

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The free people of color (who by 1872 largely outnumbered the slaves)[97] were, Southey says, "an industrious and useful part of the population: most of the maize, manioc and pulse, with which the towns were supplied, was raised by them upon small pieces of ground, which they rented of the great proprietors at a low rate."[98] Freedmen were also employed as laborers on the large estates, where they lived as squatters on the land of their employers, erecting mud and palm-leaf huts for their families, and looking to the planter for protection from any who would do them harm.[99] In the towns they were employed principally as artisans, porters, messengers, barbers, street merchants and small shopkeep-

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[97] Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[98] Southey, *op. cit.*, III, 787. Cf. also: "The masters who freed slaves often gave them, with their liberty, a piece of land to insure their subsistence. The Negroes who have inherited these small holdings are to-day (1911) the best element of the black agricultural population" (Pierre Denis, *Brasil*, trans. from the French by Bernard Miall [New York, 1911], p. 322). [423]

[99] Koster writes: "The Negroes in my possession could not perform what ought to be done in proper time; and therefore I collected free laborers for the purpose, and in a short period between thirty and forty men, some of whom brought their families, removed on to the lands of the plantation; and most of them erected hovels of palm-leaves, in which they dwelt; but a few of them were accommodated with huts of mud. . . . . Many of these fellows would have committed almost any crime under the impression that my protection would screen them" (*op. cit.*, I, 295, 297). [342]

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who at last had seriously taken up "these Negro things" and had found them to be something more than merely picturesque, ... to be, in fact, a great living part of the genuine Brazilian culture.[14]

Before this democratic gathering were read such papers in history and ethnology as the following:[15]

England and the Slave Traffic
Three Centuries of Slavery in Parahyba
The Negro in the History of Alagôas
The Negro during the Dutch Occupation
Unusual Slaves
Physical Deformities of Negro Slaves
The Republic of the Palmares
The Negro Laborer in the Time of the *Banguê*[16] Compared with the Negro Laborer in the Time of the Sugar Factories
The Diet of Brazilian Slaves
Abolition and Its Causes
African Diseases in Brazil
Negro Music in Africa and Brazil
The Negro in the Folklore and Literature of Brazil
The Drama among Early Brazilian Negroes
The Contribution of the Negro to Brazilian Culture
A List of Nagô Words
Xangô
The Legend of Xangô and Its Corruption in Brazil
Invocations to Xangô Heard in Recife
African *Seitas*[17] in Recife
Notes on the *Catimbó*[18]

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[14] *Op. cit.*, pp. 348–52.

[15] In several cases titles have not been translated literally; instead, an effort has been made to indicate more definitely the actual subject matter discussed.

[16] The primitive sugar mill used in colonial Brazil, often called the *engenho*, was also known as the *banguê*. [249]

[17] A fetish-cult center is often referred to as a *seita*.

[18] *Catimbó* is a word commonly used in northeast Brazil to designate the fetish cult, which is also known as the *candomblé* (in Bahia) and the *xangô* (in Recife). [794]

her, even in her dreams, and she dreaded worse terrors to come. 000
Depressed by the helplessness of herself and her friends, of the whole South, it was not strange that she often remembered during these days the words which Tony Fontaine had spoken so passionately:

"By God, Scarlett, it isn't to be borne! And it won't be borne!"[11]

Brazilian society nowhere passed through a comparable 121 56
period of social upheaval in which a threatened reversal of the status structure elicited such deep-seated fear and apprehension that generations later it is so vividly recalled by the descendants of those who lived through it. The rape of white women by colored men, either real or fancied, has been unknown in Brazil. There has not been anything remotely comparable to the conquest of our South by northern armies, the imposition, for years, of onerous political control from without, and the consequent development of feelings of resentment and bitterness which, lacking normal expression (by reason of the North's formidable power), in the form of effective aggression toward the actual offending object, became displaced upon the more or less helpless Negro when northern force was withdrawn. On the contrary, the relations between the races in Brazil have always been, to a considerable extent, intimate and cordial.
The moral order of the Bahian *engenhos*, which, as we have 121 563* [249]
seen, was organized largely on a familial and personal basis, has persisted relatively undisturbed down to the present day, and the members of the different races have, by way of personal feelings and sentiments, long identified themselves with each other, entered into each other's personal experiences, and come to appreciate their common human character. Instead of conceiving the Negro as an abstract object, the Bahian white tends to think of him as João or Maria and as being wholly human like himself.

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[11] Margaret Mitchell, *Gone with the Wind* (New York, 1938), pp. 652–57.

[SALVADOR]

/9/

The Ethnic Types of Bahia

361 Bahia owes its reputation, not only to its privileged location
*563 on the shores of a magnificent bay and to its churches of an ornate
633 rococo style, but also, to a certain degree, to the excellent relations that exist in the heart of its motley population between people of different color.
633 Stephan Zweig drew a very vivid picture
of Bahia and its ancient traditions. For him, Brazil began with
*563 this city, and not only Brazil, but also South America. "In this city was erected the first pier of the vast bridge thrown across the Atlantic; in it has originated, through the combination of European, African, and American material, the new mixture that is fermenting so actively at the present time (1)."

[113] 1. Stephan Zweig, Brazil, Pais do Futuro /Brazil, Land of the Future/, trans. by Gallotti, Rio de Janeiro, 1941, p. 275.

175 From its founding under the official name of Cidade do
633 103 Salvador, Bahia began to be known for its wealth, which it owed
[249] to the sugar produced by its fazendas (2)
[192]

2. Plantations.

and its engenhos (3).

3. Sugar mills.

[796] It was also renowned for the magnificence of the worship in its
(363) numerous churches, for the religious processions that passed
through its narrow, climbing streets, and for the traditions, so
typically Portuguese, of its inhabitants. Center of importation
[567] of African slaves, Bahia was also famous for the large proportion
[167] of Blacks in its population, to the point that foreign travelers of
[162] the colonial period speak of this city as a "new Guinea" (4).

[113] 4. M. Frezier, Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 and 1714 /Account of the

[SALVADOR]

/46/ Commerce

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554 The merchants and the fazendeiros enjoy a prestige in Bahia society proportional to the economic importance of their activities, the wealthiest families being made up by them, and their influence being well known in all the social life. It is by means of these two forms of activity that the Bahians acquire a certain social rank and exercise control over other sectors of the social structure (1).

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[162] 1. The economic activities that occupy the largest number of persons in the State of Bahia are agriculture and stock raising (67 o/o of individuals of the male sex); there follow in order of importance: small crafts industry and commerce, according to the census of 1940. In the city of Salvador (Bahia) the liberal professions and private instruction, which the statistics record in the aggregate, came in first place, and commerce and the industries are in second place.

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472 The national and racial groups that make up the population of Bahia participate in different fashion in the commerce and agriculture. While the Whites and the morenos predominate
[233] among the most important breeders of livestock, one finds among
[245] the owners of cacao plantations a large proportion of colored persons who began as small planters and have progressively enlarged their fazendas as cacoa gained in importance in the inter-
●[249] national markets. The plantations of cane and the sugar mills that belonged to the families of Portuguese origin, who were very conscious of their social rank during the colonial period, are today almost entirely in the hands of large capitalist enterprises in which Whites and a few métis predominate.

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441 As for commercial activities, they are not carried on exclusively by nationally and racially determined groups, but these groups portion them out among themselves up to a certain point --